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American Revisionism

Seated there in the witness box of the quiet Senate committee room was the man who, 25 years before, traveled through and behind the Japanese lines on a dangerous secret mission to Mao Tse-tung in China. Ray Ludden was second secretary of the US embassy in 1944. His testimony followed that of John Stewart Service. He told how he returned from Mao to report that the Communists were growing stronger, had the support of the peasants, were asking for US aid, and were fighting the Japanese as contrasted to the corrupt and incompetent government of Chiang Kai-shek, which was only a husk. The members of the embassy staff in 1944 agreed with him. They were right. For this they were hounded out of office!

The thing to remember is that neither Vietnam, nor the "loss" of China, had to happen. They were individual but connected acts of political folly.

Service was another China-born member of the embassy staff at that time, "the ablest group of young diplomats," according to Eric Sevareid, "I had ever seen in a single mission abroad. They were the best-informed foreigners in China."

But what Service and Ludden and John Patton Davies fought was stronger than they – an illusion; an illusion of American omnipotence expressed in global evangelism, compounded with fear and hate of a mysterious, omnipotent, Godless Communism. It was the stuff on which demagogues grow fat. It led us into Vietnam. It led us to force Mao into Moscow's arms and for a quarter century to try to isolate a nation with one-fifth the world's population.

The China lobby led the crusade. The Generalissimo and Mme. Chiang Kai-shek looked out in remote nobility from the cover of *Time* as Henry Luce's worshipful image of "Man and Wife of the Year." Luce was the son of missionaries in China. In America, too, there was patronizing complacency over the inferior yellow men: as Senator Kenneth Wherry exclaimed, "With God's help, we will lift Shanghai up and up, ever up, until it is just like Kansas City."

The ailing Franklin Roosevelt, as the Pacific war continued, decided to bypass the State Department and use personal diplomacy. Personal diplomacy can be faster than the orthodox kind but it has this danger – it lacks the safeguard of collective judgment. Surely if the 1971 State Department had known of Kissinger's secret trip to Peking they would have warned with every ounce of their professional experience not to let the secret process alienate Japan, our ally and the strongest nation in Asia. In Roosevelt's case in 1944 he picked a flashy, handsome figure, former secretary of the army in the Hoover cabinet, Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley. He was assigned a simple task. Just slip over to China and get Chiang and Mao and Vinegar Joe Stilwell to cooperate. With breezy overconfidence the imposing Hurley agreed.

Not long after, the embassy staff at Chungking found that Hurley was out of his depth; he was closing his eyes to reality. As Barbara Tuchman says in her splendid book on Gen. Stilwell, Hurley became rattled, "raging and cursing, disrupting every embassy routine," and convincing himself that there was a conspiracy against him. Political officers of the staff made a final try; when Hurley was out of the way they declared in a unanimous cable home that China was on the brink of civil war, that we must find some formula for working with Mao or see him turn to Moscow.

It wasn't to be. All the embassy staff was transferred. Stilwell was recalled. FDR died; Truman succeeded. China fell as predicted, and up rose Joe McCarthy, encouraged by Bob Taft. Hurley suddenly resigned charging that "a considerable section of our State Department is endeavoring to support Communism." John Patton Davies was ousted as a "Communist sympathizer" because he said it was better to cooperate with Mao than let them go "by default, wholly to the Russians." John Stewart Service couldn't get an apartment, let alone a job, in New York.

Later the courts rehabilitated them. Today Service is apparently without bitterness, and teaches at Berkeley. But the hate-China policy went on and on. It was good politics. As the 1952 election approached, Senator Taft urged arming the refugee Chiang for a full-scale attack on the mainland, and declared that "pro-Communist policies" of the State Department "fully justified" McCarthy's witch hunt.

It was unnecessary, like Vietnam, but we had to play out our madness. At the Geneva postwar conference in 1954 Chou En-lai extended his hand to John Foster Dulles, who spurned it. The powerful China Lobby had its "Committee of One Million." Britain's Harold Wilson, then President of the Board of Trade, found Chou at Geneva "an extremely impressive personality; friendly and warm in all his dealings with us . . . quick sense of humor and seemed to delight in answering our questions with no attempt at evasion." British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, too, called Chou "very impressive."

But not Americans; they couldn't fool us. We were out to save the world. At home Luce's magazines spread the word; *Life*, for example, on June 28, 1954, carried a statement "by the editors of *Life* magazine" calling Chou "a political thug and professional assassin." They printed beside it an article by a correspondent in Geneva sadly noting how the Chinese were gulling Europeans but adding that "most American diplomats know Chou En-lai for what he is – a ruthless intriguer – a conscienceless liar, a saber-toothed political assassin."

Here, Mr. Nixon, meet Saber-tooth.

Love It or Leave It?

There is a picture essay in the magazine section of the prestigious London Sunday *Times*, February 13, on "Vietnam, the People in the Middle." These are the noncombatants, the ones the US flyers maim but never see. Here is a youth chained by his leg to a bed; the boy at two was in his mother's arms when she was killed by gunfire from a helicopter; he survived but went insane. He goes berserk when helicopters pass overhead. Here is a double-page picture without any caption, just of a naked boy, howling in childish agony over the side of a truck which is ready to take away his mother's blood-spattered corpse. Here is a picture of two soldiers enjoying a Vietnamese girl on a bed; the caption explains clinically that "the girls make bad whores; they know little of seduction and hate their clients." Disagreeable, eh? It's your war.

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Busing Amendment

Anti-busing fever is running high, and as was the case with anti-treaty fever in the 1950s (the Bricker amendment) and school-prayer and apportionment fever in the 1960s, some of the patients long for the self-prescribed cure of a constitutional amendment. A number of congressmen and senators visited the President to urge the cure on him, and Senator Henry Jackson, perhaps to out-Wallace Wallace in Florida, simultaneously called a press conference, so the people could watch *him* take the cure. Citizens groups, north and south, are lighting fires under their representatives; there is a lot of support for an anti-busing constitutional amendment in the House. We hope President Nixon will keep his cool. In any event opposition in the Senate seems at this writing strong enough to ensure that the necessary two-thirds vote could not be obtained there.

From remarks at his most recent press conference and from the to-ings and fro-ings at the White House, we surmise that Mr. Nixon is reluctant to go the amendment route but is dead serious about finding some way to vitiate the prevailing court trend toward expanded requirements for urban integration and busing. He'd like some concrete anti-busing measure to support, if he can find one that's workable. He has had the problem under "study" for months by the same officials he has just assigned to "study" it – George Shultz, former Attorney General Mitchell, HEW Secretary Richardson and Leonard Garment and John Ehrlichman at the White House. Unless Mr. Nixon does capitulate to the amendment crowd, and most observers think he won't, he's in mild trouble with folks who have never had much objection to segregating the races. His Republican rival on the right, candidate John Ashbrook of Ohio, noted last week that the President "has not yet made up his mind," that this is "one more example of a failure to provide positive leadership," and that if Mr. Nixon "is sincerely opposed to busing he should throw the full weight of his office behind the constitutional amendment which I have supported for a year."

A constitutional amendment on busing is a terrible idea in any guise, but the one being considered in the House is a catastrophe. Senator Jackson's suggestion is bad, too. The House amendment is the brainchild of a Long Island Republican, Norman Lent, who beat Democrat Allard Lowenstein in 1970. At the moment, Rep. Lent is

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scrounging for signatures to a petition to discharge his amendment from the House Judiciary committee for immediate floor action. He would provide that "no public school student shall, because of his race, creed, or color, be assigned to or required to attend a particular school." The effect of this language, if we understand it correctly, would be to roll back the process of desegregation in the South to the stage before tokenism, or to the earlier stage of pupil placement statutes. In essence the Lent proposal says, not that busing is now being used excessively and counter-productively in some places, but that Governor Faubus of Arkansas was right, and that the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, while not necessarily to be reversed, is not to be administered. Senator Jackson's idea may not go quite this far, and one waits to see his precise language before passing final judgment on it, but it also would involve a rollback, for it turns on the old concept of "freedom of choice," and that in practice has meant whites choosing to segregate blacks, to the blacks' educational disadvantage.

It is very likely beyond the wit of the cleverest draftsman to write, in the two or three sentences which are all the Constitution can possibly be burdened with, an amendment that would not throw the baby out with the bath water. For the need to bus varies in myriad ways from one community to another among the thousands of school districts in the country. For this reason alone, even the most carefully worded amendment would be highly objectionable: the subject is not a suitable one for inclusion in the Constitution. The Vice President has it right for once in saying that he's against an amendment because "it fuzzes and obfuscates the entire issue." The Constitution is not the Internal Revenue Code or the Primary and Secondary Education Act of 1972. It is the place, as all good conservatives should appreciate, for fundamental, substantive, procedural and structural provisions, suited, as John Marshall said, for ages to come. Nothing more preposterously out of place has been proposed for treatment in the Constitution since prohibition and its repeal. No reasonable person would want to convert the Constitution into a code of detailed regulations, dealing with the grievances of each passing day, after the fashion of so many state constitutions, which are amended semiannually and replaced *in toto* every other decade.

NEXT WEEK: John Osborne reports from Peking on President Nixon's mission to China

Above The Battle

If you see things that way, there was nothing particularly unexpected in reports last week that American B-52 bomber attacks in Indochina reached an intensity of 27 missions in the 24-hour period just before the lunar new year. In fact, though, it was a record – the highest number of missions flown by B-52s since the US Command began keeping statistics back in 1960. In the 24 hours before that, 19 missions were flown, and before that, 12. It's difficult to compare these figures with those of the past, for although there were no more than 10 missions a day during the height of the 1968 Communist Tet offensive, in those days more planes went out on each mission. But it's clear enough that bombing during the week before this year's Tet was approaching saturation level. For the 24 hours of lunar new year's day, bombing inside South Vietnam was suspended, though it continued in North Vietnam and Laos, and was resumed on a full scale afterwards.

A quick survey of five newspapers that generally oppose the administration's war policy *(Washington Post, New York Times, Boston Globe, Los Angeles Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch)* revealed that during the week in question (Feb. 7-14) none commented editorially on the stepped-up bombing. They had other things to deal with: H. R. Haldeman, for example, and after that, the President and his personal advice to critics that they should take care to "review their public statements and really consider whether they believe that they are going to help the cause of peace or hurt it, whether they are going to encourage the enemy to negotiate or encourage him to continue the war." All this had to be analyzed in editorial columns.

Then too, bombing is an old subject, as old as the war and just as persistent. Like everyone else, editorial writers are weary of hearing bombing runs described by the Pentagon as "interdiction," or as they were last December as "limited duration reinforced protective reaction." Even without this verbal camouflage, bombing is difficult to treat with precision: so many of the statistics are classified or unavailable, and those that are available are often ambiguous, and who knows how many are being killed or who they are, or where? Twenty-seven missions, for example, could mean as few as 27 sorties (each sortie being one plane on one attack), or as many as 135 sorties, or more. Furthermore, bombing is not defended as policy, but as tactical necessity, which gives military logic an advantage. If the US Command and the President announce that emergency conditions prevail, and that bombing enemy camps is the only way to save American lives, who will dispute them and how often? The repeated arguments, the insistence on pragmatism, the bloated terminology are part of another bombardment campaign – one that deadens the subject and buries it.

There are enough facts in the open, however, to show that the US is dropping more bombs on Indo-

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china now than it was a short while ago. According to Pentagon statistics, 50,644 tons were dropped in November, and in December 61,838 tons – an increase of more than 20 percent. The January total hasn't been released yet, but it will probably be higher still. Another way to chart the pattern is to compare the monthly figures on "protective reaction strikes," which are easier to obtain but in some ways are less meaningful. (Although there were five days of intensive bombing last December, called "*reinforced* protective reaction," the Pentagon has counted them as a single strike.) The number of protective reaction strikes last November was 15, in December, 25: a total of 40. For the corresponding period in 1970 and the total was two, and in 1969, one.

Now that we've had Tet, but no offensive, US strategists in Saigon are developing a new analysis. *The New York Times* last week quoted a "United States military source" who speculated that the enemy might not make a move until June or July, and that "as long as we assess the enemy threat to be as great as we do today, we can expect that kind of air activity we have now to continue."

Grass Clippings

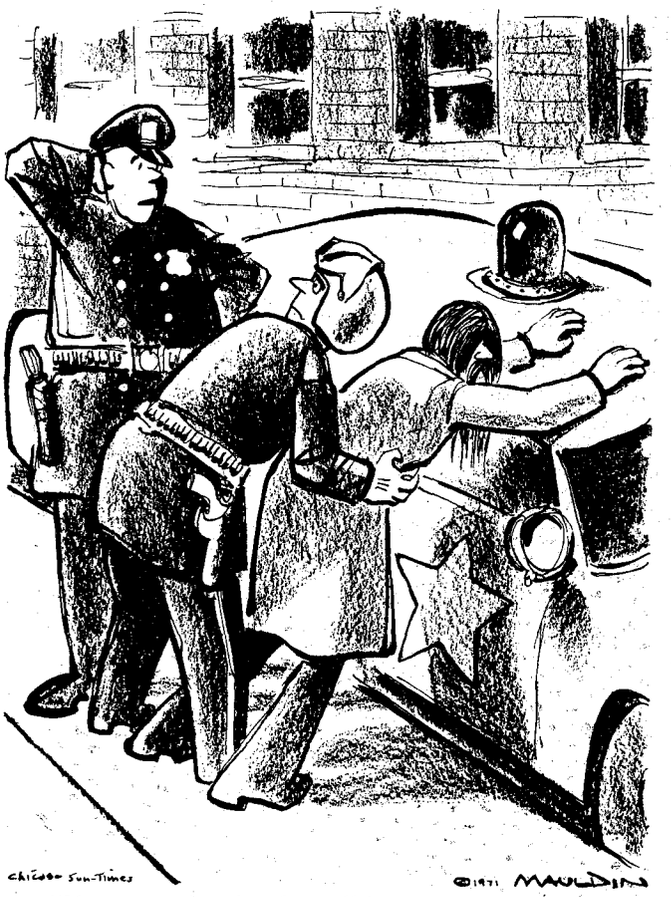
Newspaper addicts will have noticed three stories about marijuana that, taken together, suggest a new trend in official thinking:

•The National Institute of Mental Health in its annual report on *Marijuana and Health* concludes that pot is not a major threat to the health of the moderate user. The judgment is still tentative on the government's part and it is qualified in sundry ways, but it is a far cry from the old Narcotics Bureau line that marijuana leads to addiction, violent crime, insanity and death. It is reassuring news considering NIMH's estimate that 15 to 20 million Americans have smoked grass, and the Gallup poll finding that 51 percent of surveyed college students have tried marijuana. In releasing the report, NIMH Director Bertram Brown said he felt personally that penalties for possession and use of marijuana were "much too severe and much out of keeping with knowledge about its harmfulness."

• A presidential commission, appointed by Richard Nixon, next month will recommend unanimously that private use and possession of small amounts of marijuana be "decriminalized." By this the commission does not mean "legalize pot." The gist of the recommendation is that discreet marijuana users should not be sent to prison. The President, it will be remembered, said last May that "even if the commission does recommend that it [marijuana] be legalized, I will not follow that recommendation."

• Until his retirement in January, the federal government's number-two narcotics agent, John H. Finlator, hewed closely to the official position of his agency, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, that marijuana laws under which pot smokers are imprisoned should be enforced. Now out of the government, Finlator reveals that he personally opposed prison sentences for marijuana smokers but had been told several years ago by a high official of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (where the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control then resided) that he should keep his private views to himself; he kept quiet for the rest of the time he was in government. "I had a personal position and I had an official position and it bothered me quite a bit," said Finlator. He now works with the National Organization for Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), a group financed in large part by the Playboy Foundation.

So John Finlator and the director of NIMH and the President's commission all agree that marijuana use should be "decriminalized." For the shift in official thinking to have any significance of course it will have to be translated into legislation. Finlator maintains that on the federal level, narcotics agents take little interest in small-time drug users but concentrate rather on the major pushers. The problem is zealous state and local law-enforcement activities. In some states it still happens that a youth of 18 is sentenced to 20 years in prison for possession of marijuana.



"If pot gets legalized, we'll have to start chasing criminal types again."

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Toothless Tiger

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the federal agency charged with policing fair employment practices, was created as a toothless tiger. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which gave birth to the EEOC, the five-member commission could only conciliate; it could only concern itself with firms or unions with 25 or more members; state and local governments (one of the most rapidly expanding job markets and a large employer of women, as teachers) don't fall under its jurisdiction; and it takes years to process a case to a conclusion. An employee who believes he or she has been the object of discrimination must file a complaint with EEOC. A staff member then investigates and submits a report to the commissioners, who decide on the merits. Then the staff must bargain with the employer or union on an acceptable remedy. If there's an impasse, the complainant must then file a suit in court, since EEOC is not entitled to take legal action against employers.

In order to give the commission more bite, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee reported a bill in January to grant EEOC the power (similar to that of the National Labor Relations Board) to issue cease and desist orders to employers violating the civil rights law. Committee Chairman Harrison Williams (NJ) and ranking Republican member Jacob Javits (NY) also tried in the bill to extend EEOC's domain to include firms and unions with as few as eight employees or members, and all state and local governments (although cease and desist orders could not be applied to the latter).

The bill was opposed by the administration on the grounds that cease and desist would make the EEOC prosecutor, jury and judge. That view was accepted by the House, and backed in the Senate by administration floor leader Peter Dominick (Colo.): EEOC would be given only the authority to go to court with a complaint; it could not act on its own. When Dominick's amendment to the tougher Williams-Javits bill was put to a vote on January 24, Dominick lost. But he was not finished. Over the next few weeks, he united conservative Republicans with Southern Democrats, led by Sam Ervin (N.C.) to prevent cloture on debate of the bill. By the second week in February, when it was apparent that the Dominick filibuster could not be broken, Williams and Javits folded. Javits threw out cease and desist and came up with a curious amalgam that would have allowed the EEOC to hold fact-finding hearings and submit a verdict to a federal court, which then would be expected to uphold the decision unless there were a protest within 60 days. The Javits proposal did nothing to appease the Dominick-Ervin side, however, which saw it as a bastard form of cease and desist. Then Javits also suggested raising the minimum size of firms or unions from eight employees or members to 15. It was a lost cause. When the vote on Dominick's amendment came up again, most of the Democratic presidential hopefuls were out of town (except McGovern, who returned for the vote), and several other supporters of a strengthened EEOC bill were missing. The Dominick version passed, 45 to 39.

Invisible Unemployed

As far as the US Bureau of Labor Statistics is concerned, every person in the country is either employed, unemployed or outside the labor force. The BLS issues regular reports on the first two categories, but little is said about the third. One way to fall into this statistical limbo is to become a "discouraged worker." That's the statistician's term for the unhappy man who's been out of work for more than 30 days, doesn't belong to a union, wants a job, but has become so discouraged that he has stopped looking for one. Along with housewives, the ill, disabled and retired, he is left out of the official unemployment count.

This happens because the BLS figures are based on answers to a survey taken by the Census Bureau. Each month, census agents visit about 52,000 families and question them about their jobs, income and family size. If an unemployed person says he hasn't looked for a job in the last four weeks, even if he still wants to work, he's considered a dropout from the labor force. When the Labor Department announces – as it did for 1971 – that the year's average unemployment rate was 5.9 percent, it's distorting things a bit. The only way to prevent the distortion would be to rewrite the census questionnaires or devise a system to estimate the number of discouraged workers.

Alfred Tella, an economist at Georgetown University in Washington, DC, has been trying to convince the government for ten years to adopt an equation he invented which he says can be used to gauge the true level of unemployment, including the number of discouraged workers, housewives and others who come into the labor force only when jobs are available. By his standard, the average figure for last year's unemployment was 6.6 percent. His averages are always higher than the official ones, and they tend to show greater discrepancy from BLS figures in times when few jobs are opening. In 1963, for example, the BLS put the year's unemployment at 5.7 percent; Tella placed it at 8.5. They're much closer this year (5.9 and 6.6), but on Tella's chart comparing the two standards since 1957, the gap is beginning to widen again.

Labor statisticians won't accept Tella's figures because they're not based on "hard facts," like answers to census questionnaires. The BLS publishes a quarterly report on people outside the labor force. But it's given little publicity, Tella says, and is handed out only on request.

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Muskie's Record

Muskie operatives in New Hampshire are both angered and amused by the contradictory charges being hurled at him. For instance, the McGovern camp has put out a mimeographed flier saying Muskie has "voted against any cuts in the defense budget." It goes on to say he voted against any reductions in Sentinel ABM (1968) and against limiting deployment of the Safeguard ABM System (1969). Meanwhile, a front-page editorial in William Loeb's *Manchester Union-Leader* listed about 60 occasions on which it claims Muskie voted "against maintaining our national security." The second paragraph reads: "Note especially his votes against development of Safeguard ABM, the missile system designed to protect us from nuclear attack from Soviet Russia or Red China."

Here is the Muskie record on ABM. in 1968 and 1969: in 1968, he opposed an amendment to entirely delete funds for ABM but supported another to delay it for a year. In 1969, the big day was Aug. 6 when the Senate was almost evenly divided in two key votes out of three. On the first amendment to stop all funding of ABM offered by Sen. Smith of Maine and soundly beaten, McGovern and Muskie both voted "yes." The next Smith amendment, which lost by one vote, would have stopped funding except for research and development. Muskie and McGovern both voted "yes." The final vote was on Cooper-Hart, which limited funding (no deployment). Both supported the amendment.

The following day, Sen. McIntyre of New Hampshire tried to rally anti-ABM forces with an amendment limiting deployment. However, a number of liberals including Muskie, Nelson, Hart, Kennedy, Mansfield, Cooper and Fulbright opposed it because they felt it gave too much quarter to ABM supporters. McGovern backed it. Some McGovern literature refers specifically to the McIntyre amendment while ignoring the two critical votes the previous day.

The Wallace Factor

Democratic party reform has not killed the talent of politicians for bending election laws to their purposes. This year, that talent is put to an especially demanding test by the ominous presence of George Wallace in Democratic primaries. Although delegate selection has begun in some places and the nation's first primary is next week, party officials and legislators are still busy in several states trying to alter delegate selection procedures.

In *Maryland* (53 delegates) the laws have been altered each four years to cope with the Wallace threat. In 1964, Wallace got 43 percent of the primary vote, so the 1968 primary was abandoned altogether in favor of a system where all delegates were appointed by the two-year-old Democratic State Committee. That system having been outlawed by the national party's new rules, the state adopted an automatic entry primary, calculated to bring all potential candidates to Maryland. This could result in as many as a dozen Democrats on the ballot, and with George Wallace again running in Democratic primaries, a badly fragmented vote could bind many Maryland delegates to Wallace for at least one ballot. There are several schemes under consideration to foreclose this possibility. Gov. Marvin Mandel has suggested binding delegates only in the unlikely event that one candidate gets at least 40 percent of the vote in each congressional district. Some reformers have resubmitted an old proposal to set aside a winner-take-all primary in favor of proportional representation. "Before Wallace was a factor," says one legislator, "they weren't interested in each viable candidate getting his share of the delegation. Now they may see an equitable primary law as the lesser of two evils."

The struggle in *Tennessee* (49 delegates) has been over an effort to move the primary from May 4 to March 30, a change that is supported by Sen. Jackson's friends. Jackson was counting on a strong showing in Florida to bolster the credibility of his candidacy. With Wallace's entry there, Jackson's chances evaporated, and when his shopping trip for a new state failed to turn up anything early enough, he settled on finagling the date in Tennessee. Almost unnoticed in the bill altering the Tennessee date is a provision that would cancel the present selection of delegates by the Democratic State Convention and enable each presidential candidate who wins delegates to simply designate his own supporters. This provision, if enacted, would be inconsistent with national party rules precluding handpicked delegates, and could subject the Tennessee delegation to a challenge in Miami. A statewide poll (commissioned by Muskie) shows that if the primary were to be held today, George Wallace would win with 29 percent of the vote, and Sen. Jackson would run fifth, with five percent.

In *Georgia* (53 delegates) Gov. Jimmy Carter got approval of a new set of party rules only six weeks before they go into effect on March 11. Again, the principal aim is to stop Wallace. The governor would like a solid Carter delegation on an "uncommitted" basis. The system adopted provides for congressional district mass meetings open to any Democrat; the par-

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ticipants will vote among candidates competing for delegate slots, with run-off provisions if no one achieves a majority on the first ballot. Whichever candidate or coalition can muster 51 percent of any meeting is assured of capturing all of the delegates and alternates.

Wilbur Mills' strategy, to barter a bloc of southern delegates at Miami, is also threatened by Wallace. So the *Arkansas* legislature (overwhelmingly Democratic) is considering a bill to give each political party the option to select delegates by primary or convention. If the delegates are selected in a state convention, where the "court house crowd" dominates, even Wallace will be little threat to Mills.

Only party officials elected in precinct primaries in 1970 now have any voice in the presidential nominating process of either party in *Michigan* (132 delegates). But when GOP Gov. William Milliken was named co-defendant in a class-action lawsuit brought on behalf of the over a million people between 18 and 23 years old who are thereby disenfranchised, serious efforts to change this system began to develop. Milliken one-upped Michigan Democrats by introducing a presidential primary bill that provided national convention representation for any candidate who got at least two percent of the popular vote. The two percent provision would almost certainly attract every one of the current Democratic hopefuls to Michigan. The strongest single force inside both the Michigan legislature and the Democratic Party is the 300,000-member UAW, which has endorsed Muskie. Fearing both fragmentation and the blue-collar appeal of George Wallace, party officials are seeking to amend the pending legislation to provide that no candidate receiving less than 15 percent of the popular vote will be awarded delegates. One Democratic legislator who opposes the change points out, "They will invoke the specter of Wallace to get this change. But Wallace can probably come pretty close to 15 percent in Michigan. Shirley Chisholm will be the big loser."

Newman in New Hampshire

One of the most effective workers in the McCarthy campaign in 1968 was actor Paul Newman. He trudged through the snows of New Hampshire to help pull out large crowds to listen to a relatively unknown candidate, went on to Wisconsin and eventually became a McCarthy delegate from Connecticut. Now he's back helping Rep. Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey (R) in his effort to dump another President. To Newman, the choice between McGovern and Muskie in New Hampshire is between "two relatively good men." But in the McCloskey-Nixon confrontation, he sees a choice between "good and evil." One of McCloskey's major campaign themes – his criticism of secrecy and duplicity in government – has particular appeal for Newman, who describes the Nixon administration as the "most secretive, devious, concealing administration in history." There's another aspect of the McCloskey campaign that appeals to Newman – the courage of the Californian in taking on an incumbent President of his own state and party. "There's so much raw power and so little political courage," Newman comments in explaining why he called McCloskey's headquarters and offered to help.

Miscalculation

Four years ago, one of the Arizona delegates who voted for McGovern at Chicago was a former ambassador to Ghana, William Mahoney. McGovern not only sought his support again in 1972 but asked him to be his Arizona chairman. As McGovern tells it, Mahoney replied that he favored the South Dakotan but wanted to go to Miami Beach as a delegate and thought it would be easier if he chose another route. He did. He ran and was elected to the state convention as an uncommitted delegate; however, he was not selected by the uncommitted block as one of their four national convention delegates. Meanwhile, the McGovern forces were allotted five, one of which would certainly have gone to Mahoney. The lawyer who put together the uncommitted block that excluded Mahoney was knocked out on the floor by a 23-year-old woman from the Women's Political Caucus, also elected to the state convention as "uncommitted," but claimed by McGovern.

McGovern Tactics

McGovern has reluctantly agreed to remake a controversial, taped radio ad, which uses the voice of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy without identifying him. McGovern still thinks it was "a damned good tape. I approved it fully." He says the failure to identify the voice as Bob Kennedy's (the charge was made that many voters would think it's Ted Kennedy) was "harmless," and that he's had "not one whisper of complaint from any of the Kennedys" over the use of the tape, which was made in 1968 when Robert Kennedy was responding to an introduction of him by McGovern during an appearance in the presidential primary in South Dakota. Kennedy will be identified in the new version.

Two other tapes feature the voices of Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Sen. Gale McGee without identifying either by name. Like the Kennedy tape, neither is an endorsement but is a flattering statement of the kind politicians make about each other. McGovern says his managers didn't seek the permission of Mansfield or McGee to use the tapes, explaining they were public speeches and "in the public domain."

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China Observed

Edgar Snow Reporting

Last week, three days before President Nixon's departure for Peking, Edgar Snow died of cancer in Geneva. He was 66. The central concern of his working life was the cultivation of a finer American appreciation of China. Few if any journalists had as intimate and sophisticated an understanding as he of the mainland and its Communist leaders. He lectured at Yenching University in Peking in 1934. From then on, beginning with his classic Red Star Over China *(1937), Snow wrote innumerable articles and books about the country, revisiting it in 1970-71, the first American reporter to do so since the cultural revolution. From his reports to* The New Republic *over the years we have taken a few excerpts and republish them below.* —The Editors

Mao said: "Naturally I personally regret that forces of history have divided and separated the American and Chinese peoples from virtually all communication during the past 15 years. Today the gulf seems broader than ever. However, I myself do not believe it will end in war and one of history's major tragedies."

Mao said that forces of history were also bound, eventually, to bring the two peoples together again; that day would surely come. Possibly I was right that meanwhile there would be no war. That could occur only if American troops came to China. They would not really get much out of it. That simply would not be allowed. Probably the American leaders knew that and consequently they would not invade China. Then there would be no war, because the Chinese certainly would never send troops to attack the United States.

"What of the possibilities of war arising over Vietnam? I have read many newspaper stories indicating that the United States has considered expanding the war into North Vietnam."

No, Mao said, he thought otherwise. . . .

"I do not believe that the makers and administrators of United States policy understand you," I said.

Why not? China's armies would not go beyond her borders to fight. That was clear enough. Only if the United States attacked China would the Chinese fight. Wasn't that clear? The Chinese were very busy with their internal affairs. Fighting beyond one's own borders was criminal. Why should the Chinese do that? The Vietnamese could cope with their situation.

"American officials repeatedly say that if United States forces were withdrawn from Vietnam, then all Southeast Asia would be overrun."

The question was, said Mao, "overrun" by whom? Overrun by Chinese or overrun by the inhabitants? China was "overrun," but only by Chinese.

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"Man makes his own history, but he makes it in accordance with his environment," I quoted. "You have fundamentally changed the environment in China. Many wonder what the younger generation bred under easier conditions will do. What do you think about it?"

He could not know, Mao said. He doubted that anyone could be sure. There were two possibilities. There could be continued development of the revolution toward Communism, the other possibility was that youth could negate the revolution, and give a poor performance: make peace with imperialism, bring the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique back to the mainland, and take a stand beside the small percentage of counter-revolutionaries still in the country. Of course he did not hope for counter-revolution. But future events would be decided by future generations, and in accordance with conditions we could not foresee. . . . The youth of today and those to come after them would assess the work of the revolution in accordance with values of their own. Mao's voice dropped away, and he half closed his eyes. Man's condition on this earth was changing with ever increasing rapidity. A thousand years from now all of them, he said, even Marx, Engels and Lenin, would possibly appear rather ridiculous.

Mao Tse-tung walked me through the doorway and, despite my protests, saw me to my car, where he stood alone for a moment, coatless in the sub-zero Peking night, to wave me farewell in the traditional manner of that ancient cultured city. I saw no security guards around the entrance, nor can I now recall having seen even one armed bodyguard in our vicinity all evening. As the car drove away I looked back and watched Mao

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brace his shoulders and slowly retrace his steps, leaning heavily on the arm of an aide, into the Great Hall of the People.

Interview with Mao – February 27, 1965

As late as January, 1965, both Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung probably still believed that a protracted war with the United States could be avoided. In that month Mao himself told me that he recognized the possibility of convening an international conference to enforce terms of the Geneva Treaty of 1954 without the prior withdrawal of American personnel then in South Vietnam. A neutral independent Saigon government would then have been acceptable to Peking. Mao's expectations were upset when the United States transformed Vietnam's civil war into international war.

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An American victory in Vietnam for want of aid from Russia and China would not only impose a profound loss of prestige from which the whole world socialist movement might never recover, but conceivably it could lead to wars between socialist nationalisms. China could blame Moscow for a defeat in Vietnam, but that could not alter its shattering effects not only on Mao's prestige as a world revolutionary leader and doctrinaire, but also on the future of China as a major power with vital national interests at stake. That is why, even without Russia, China probably cannot permit the United States to decide the fate of East Asia by intensified bombing of Vietnam – or, for that matter, of China itself.

China and Vietnam – July 30, 1966

If one compares the present American situation to that in China in 1949, one can see the logic of expectations in Hanoi and Peking that the US may soon be obliged to leave Vietnam unconditionally. In 1949, the total defeat of the Nationalists deprived US air, land and naval forces there of any further sanctuary and left no basis for a negotiated withdrawal. A similar conclusion to the Vietnam war is one possibility foreseen by Mao Tse-tung in his interview with me in 1965. The main objective of the Tet offensive probably was to clear the Saigon police forces from the rural areas of South Vietnam, with such success as it attained in urban attacks as an added bonus. Since that period, US forces and their native allies have been on the defensive, and continued Vietcong attacks will seek to maintain the initiative throughout the Paris talks. Meanwhile the NLF will everywhere extend its political and military consolidation over the recovered areas, building up ever greater pressure on the cities. Within coming months, urban insurrections could appeal to greater and greater numbers of ordinary citizens as the quickest way to end the prolonged chaos – and the wisest way to prepare to meet the future. In effect, the US cause could be lost because Vietnamese would simply refuse to fight Vietnamese any longer. The political isolation of the US forces would thus become absolute.

If the NLF and Hanoi could bring about that denouement before next November, would it offer American presidential candidates a means to rationalize a demand for US withdrawal? In China it was the Nationalists' lack of will to fight – and corruption – which American state papers blamed for the Communist victory. Could it be that in Vietnam, also, betrayal by the Nationalists, rather than American miscalculations, compounded through three presidential administrations, would be held responsible?

East Asia after the Vietnam War is Over – July 6, 1968

As between Soviet revisionism and American imperialism – particularly since China has the bomb – Mao may now regard Russia as the greater menace. Americans are not Asians and sooner or later must go home, Mao thinks. Russia is another matter. With Soviet troops facing China along an 8000-kilometer frontier, and holding vast territories wrested from Peking's control scarcely a century ago, the long-range problem of peaceful coexistence seems more difficult.

Mao and the New Mandate – May 10, 1969

Since Taiwan is Chinese territory, United States encroachment there is regarded as the crux of Sino-American difference which led to the Indochina war, where China has now extended an umbrella of protection and support to the alliance of the three Indochinese peoples against the United States. The premier recalled that in 1960 and in 1965 he spelled out for me the conditions under which the Taiwan problem could be solved so as to establish Sino-American relations. He said that there had been and would be no change. China required that 1) the United States must recognize Taiwan as an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China and must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits; 2) despite their different social systems, China and the United States should practice peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles.

"Taiwan is China's internal affair and the Chinese people alone have the right to liberate it. United States armed aggression there is another question, an international question, and we are ready to negotiate

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that," Premier Chou said. "The door is open but it depends on whether the United States is serious in dealing with the Taiwan question." He expressed friendly feelings for the American people. He indicated a readiness to consider applications from "friends of China, in concrete cases, and in a concrete way," to visit here.

Chou En-lai explained the Chinese side of the present deadlock in Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations, which has persisted for a year or more. On September 11, 1969, the Chinese and Soviet premiers reached an understanding that Sino-Soviet boundary negotiations should be held free from any threat and that the two sides would reach an agreement on provisional measures to maintain the status quo of the border, avert armed conflicts and disengage the armed forces of both sides in disputed areas. "Disputed areas," according to Premier Chou, are places where the two sides differ in their boundary delineations on the maps, according to the Sino-Russian boundary treaties of the 19th century: "That is to say, they are places which they say belong to them and we say belong to us. This question can be solved only when an agreement on the provisional measures has been reached and adjustment is to be made in accordance with the principles of mutual understanding, mutual accommodation and consultations on an equal footing. And it really shouldn't be difficult to settle."

In practice, it seems, the Russians have simply refused to agree to disengage in the disputed areas, where the two lines remain as intertwined as the prongs of two forks pushed together.

I asked the premier whether he would today repeat China's call, made in the early 1960s, for a summit conference to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, to abolish their manufacture, and to secure their total destruction.

"Let me make our position on this question clear," he replied. "In the first place, our nuclear tests are still in the experimental stage, and every test carried out is limited and made only when necessary. The aim of our nuclear tests is to break the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail and prevent a nuclear war. Therefore, each time when we conduct a test, we declare that at no time and in no circumstances shall China be the first to use nuclear weapons. And we reiterate the proposal that a summit conference of all countries of the world, big or small, be convened to conclude an agreement on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and, as the first step, to reach an agreement to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. After our recent test (October 14, 1970) the Japanese Socialist Party expressed their support for this stand and proposal of ours."

As for "so-called nuclear arms limitation" talks between the superpowers, he said, these were aimed to maintain their monopoly over all others, and nothing else. Each power concentrated only on how to "limit" the other so as to maintain its own superiority. The United States and the Soviet Union indeed wished to "limit" the costs of supporting their monopoly of terror, but the costs nevertheless continued to rise astronomically even as they talked. As to how their contradictions were ever to be resolved, "We are not their chiefs of staff!" He said, "Don't cherish any illusion in that kind of 'disarmament.' For 25 years they have all along been engaged in arms expansion, and not at all disarmament."

Talks with Chou En-lai – March 27, 1971

What is life like today for the non-Party population – the great majority of adults – two years after Lin Piao told the Ninth Party Congress that "victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Revolution?"

The man in the street has grown neither horns nor a halo. "Chairman Mao is always with us," sang some kindergarten children to me, and our man in the street will tell you he loves Mao. Yet except for the Mao badges worn by everybody, the outward appearance of the citizen still closely resembles the man I saw in 1965. There is more uniformity of dress: blue and gray jackets and trousers for both men and women, with a greater mixture of army khaki and navy pale blue. Many wear better and brighter clothes at home, but the street fashion is now proletarian. In the cities it is harder to tell an intellectual from a peasant. They are equally clean and neat – and so are the streets. People are forthright and meet each other with courtesy and absence of condescension. (The masses are better educated; nearly all children now attend school; in many factories the workers are all high-school graduates.) Twenty years of tree-planting have beautified the cities, and general transformation of the earth is lifting the worn face of the rural landscape. China is visibly far richer than ever before, but not in private wealth.

Our man is well fed, healthy, adequately clad, fully employed with work, Mao classes and technical study, during six days of his week. On his free day he relaxes with his family or may play ping-pong or swim with his friends. (Unless he volunteers to dig holes and make bricks for air raid shelters.) If he has worries they don't include mounting food prices, medical costs and taxes. He lives within a very narrow budget but he is free from bank mortgages, debt and fear of starvation and beggary which plagued his parents. The papers and posters he reads carry mainly political news and exhortations but no Chinese can now be immune to politics. On the other hand he is not troubled by murder stories, market plunges, pornography, race riots, divorce scandals, dope rings, crime, and class envy of the rich. (China is, as a wit remarked, a veritable sink of morality.)

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Mao's thought has now saturated the whole nation with these aims: to speed up the erasure of differences between town and countryside; to equalize the material and cultural standards and opportunities of the worker, the peasant, the soldier, the cadre and the technician-expert; to integrate shop and farm work in everyone's education and life experience; to smash all bourgeois thought and especially its remnants among intellectuals and officials; to proletarianize higher learning by integrating students and workers and combining labor practice with classroom theory; to train everyone to bear arms and learn from the army; to bring forth a one-class generation of many-sided, well educated youths inspired by ideals of service to the people, at home and abroad, contemptuous of personal wealth, and dedicated to a "world outlook" anticipating the final liberation of man from hunger, greed, ignorance, war and capitalism.

Aftermath of the Cultural Revolution – April 10, 1971

Under the new educational system middle school graduates must spend three years at manual labor before they go on to higher education, *if* they are selected by their squads and companies. Their schools decide, within plans set by regional revolutionary committees, how many students to assign to the universities, armed forces, factories, farms or frontiers. Such youths have apprentice status and are provided only with food, clothing and "pocket money." The Army Construction Corps trains hundreds of thousands – no foreigner knows how many – and joins them with skilled and unskilled labor drawn from the cities. Many settle down permanently at the site of their building work.

The army engages in large afforestation and housing projects and builds strategic dams, power plants, bridges, tunnels and roads. During the cultural revolution the People's Liberation Army Construction Corps completed the difficult Chengtu-Kunming railway which connects Vietnam with Turkestan. In Peking it built the new subway. In all China it supervises work on the extensive air raid shelter system. Naval officers were in command of the Shanghai shipbuilding yards when I visited new ocean liners being launched there. In the rural communes the army is represented through the militia down to the brigade and production team level. And the People's Liberation Army of course operates all military and nuclear industries.

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Mao Tse-tung had hoped that during the purge and cultural revolution a younger generation of "successors" would emerge to replace the "capitalist roaders" entrenched in the administrative bureaucracy. When millions of students and workers were "turned on" in 1966 they did rise to express long-repressed grievances against the Party elite. But the "rebels" failed to unite in a choice of new leaders and forms; they fell into many factions, fighting broke out, and near anarchy prevailed. The army was the only experienced Party organization still intact. Events obliged Mao reluctantly to call upon the army to end the chaos and "support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the left, establish military control, and lead ideological and military training." Casualties ran into hundreds of thousands before the army took up weapons to restore order.

The task of reconstructing the dismantled state and Party administrative apparatus inevitably fell heavily on Chou En-lai. Premier since 1949, he was the most experienced top-ranking state-builder left in office. Today No. 3 in the Party, he enjoys wide confidence among all three elements of the revolutionary committees which must somehow be welded into united administrative teams. There is the job of reintegrating the technicians and other experienced Party cadres put through the wringer by the purge. The hardest task is to inject into those teams enough "new blood," drawn from the ranks of the workers' congresses (which replaced the labor unions), and from the peasant communes, to make the body politic more directly answerable to the masses – the non-Party, non-army majority.

Then what is Chou's formula? "In our socialist state," he told me, "we are all equal within the Party, whether you work in the government, in the Party, or in the army. Once army cadres go to work in government organs they become government workers and are no longer in charge of army work. They are in fact transferred from the army. So in a few years they will become just like us."

"Just like us" – meaning like Chou En-lai? Fifty years of revolutionary experience produced, in Chou, a man for all seasons. Can the new mixture produce proletarian successors fast enough to take over when the elders depart? Nobody works harder on that question than the premier himself.

The Army and the Party – May 22, 1971

During three visits to the People's Republic since 1960 I have seen more than 30 communes, from the far north, near the Siberian frontier, to Yunnan, above Vietnam. This time I saw something of 11 communes, including three I had known in 1960, which I asked to revisit. The "revisits" revealed improvements in cultivating methods, irrigation works, electrification, mechanization, land reclamation, housing and small industries – much more than in higher cash incomes. After eight years of agricultural growth most peasants

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now believe in the reality of the "five guarantees" (promised by Party directives): adequate food, shelter and clothing, fuel, medical care and schools for their offspring, and provisions for old age.

"Adequate?" China's communes are still very poor by material standards of Western landowning farmers. They are adequate, however, beyond the former dreams of the landless and perennially overworked, hungry illiterates who were most of the peasants in prerevolutionary China.

China's Communes, Success or Failure? – June 26, 1971

"It's Hardly a Sin to Support the Best Man"

The Case for George McGovern

by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

This is a perplexing presidential year for the Democrats. It is perplexing first because President Nixon and his razzle-dazzle, hidden-ball strategy have made it so. There was a comforting predictability about the Nixon of our youth. While not giving him great credit for depth of conviction, students of the old Nixon did suppose that, if he believed in anything, he believed in two ultimate propositions: the sanctity of the free market and the wickedness of Communism. Then in two months last summer, without a backward look or apologetic word, he dumped both beliefs and embraced J. K. Galbraith and Mao Tse-tung. It shakes one's faith in human nature.

By doing these things, President Nixon succeeded, for a while at least, in neutralizing the issues that were hurting him most – the Indochina War abroad, and unemployment and inflation at home – and he thereby revived what was fast becoming a moribund candidacy for reelection. Such political audacity commands respect. Democrats cannot safely assume that it is over. A politician who is devoid of principle enjoys certain technical advantages. We may be sure our President will exploit them to the full before November 7.

And this is a perplexing year for the Democrats because of their own condition. They are not bitterly divided over policy, as Vietnam divided them in 1968. Nor are they lacking in able candidates. But no candidate has thus far caught fire; nor, except for those moved to leap on the Muskie bandwagon out of a belief in the inevitability of his nomination, has much crystallized thus far to lead most voters to prefer one estimable candidate to another. I do not think that Senator Muskie's nomination would be a catastrophe. But I do think that there are the strongest reasons to support Senator McGovern, and I would like to suggest why.

The Democratic nominee in 1972 must have several obvious qualitites. One is that he must be a man who is perceived as telling the truth. By inauguration day in 1973 it will have been nearly a decade since the country was accustomed to believing its President. A new generation has grown up under the impression that manipulation, secrecy and duplicity are inherent in the presidency. One doubts whether young Americans will begin to take our democratic process seriously until we have as President a man of openness and candor whose word they can respect and accept. The restoration of credibility to the White House, in short, is a national necessity. Several Democratic possibilities, I think, meet this criterion – Senators McGovern, Muskie and Jackson and Mayor Lindsay, preeminent among them.

A second quality is an active concern for the state of our nation as a human community. In 1968 Mr. Nixon observed to Theodore H. White, "I've always thought this country could run itself domestically without a President; all you need is a competent cabinet to run the country at home. You need a President for foreign policy." This is one campaign pledge to which President Nixon has been faithful. But the results of his experiment have not been inspiring. Nor, one must feel, would it have made much difference even if he had taken the trouble to give himself that "competent cabinet."

The unfortunate fact is that in these days presidential leadership is more urgently needed in domestic than in foreign policy. The country is concluding that

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the presidency has acquired excessive power in the conduct of foreign affairs, and this is right. But, if the President has too much authority abroad, he has too little at home. He can make up for this lack of constitutional authority only by personal intensity of concern, appetite for innovation and capacity to mobilize popular support.

Most of the Democratic possibilities have excellent, if in some cases rather passive, records of progressive commitment. Senator McGovern, I think, has shown greater foresight and initiative than the others. He made hunger and nutrition a national issue; he is an expert on farm problems; and in recent weeks he has proposed original and far-reaching reforms of the tax system and the defense budget. Though a country boy, he has immersed himself in the problem of the cities. In New York, for example, he has the support of Democratic leaders in the Bronx and Queens and members of the city council; indeed, Professor Richard Wade, our leading urban historian, is managing his New York campaign.

A third quality is an instinct for foreign policy. By instinct, I mean something different from experience or knowledge; I mean a sense of the way the world is moving, a grasp of changing international realities. Experience and knowledge without instinct are not particularly helpful; *vide* the Department of State. During the Kennedy administration the department kept sending papers over to the White House talking about "the Sino-Soviet bloc" long after it was more than evident that the old harmonies had faded away. No one with an instinct for foreign affairs could have written or signed such papers. Instinct is more important than experience and knowledge because, with instinct, it is easy to acquire experience and knowledge but, without instinct, experience and knowledge tend to keep policy mired in the same spot.

This is why it is more than a matter of historical interest to note when a candidate woke up to the folly of Vietnam. On this test Senator McGovern clearly excels. I don't mean to suggest that he is without experience and knowledge; on this less vital test he also does well too. When he ran the Food for Peace program for President Kennedy, he traveled widely and effectively around the world. I accompanied him on trips to Latin America and East Asia and have seen at first hand the skill and force with which he can talk to heads of governments.

But it is more important to recall that he made his first attack on the American involvement in Vietnam in 1963 – a good time before most Americans (this writer included) perceived the dangers of our course. Foresight is not a negligible presidential quality. Candidates who did not attack escalation until the nation as a whole began to turn against the war cannot claim much on the foreign-policy-instinct scale. Some of them, indeed, while now stoutly against the war, do not seem altogether clear in their own minds why the war is still continuing and what must be done to bring it to an end – as manifested in the respectful response some made to President Nixon's extremely vulnerable speech of January 25. One wishes, for example, that Senator Muskie, instead of at first welcoming the Nixon formula had at once perceived it as "meaningless." His foreign policy advisers Clark Clifford (whose characterization I quote in the previous sentence) and Averill Harriman so perceived it; and it must be supposed that they urged this view on him – a view he eventually endorsed in his excellent Vietnam speech eight days later.

The reason an instinct for foreign policy is so essential is that, when a President of the United States sits down in the oval office, he will soon find himself, if he is not careful, enveloped by the national security bureaucracy, a collection of often able men with a large vested interest in past error. If he has no instinct, he will lack confidence in his own judgment as against theirs. He will feel that generals, assistant secretaries of state and ambassadors know things he doesn't know; and he will begin to defer to their presumably superior wisdom. This is what happened to President Johnson. A man with superb instinct for domestic policy, he had none at all for foreign policy – and proceeded to sacrifice the field he understood on the altar of the field he did not understand. We cannot risk another President who will not regard the advice of these Typhoid Marys with automatic skepticism. Even Nixon might be better than that. Does anyone really suppose, for example, that, if the Democratic candidate had won in 1968, an American President would now be on his way to Peking?

And this suggests the fourth essential quality for the Democratic nominee: he must be bold and forthright on policy. Otherwise President Nixon may well move out ahead of him. In China and, to a degree, in price control, the President did succeed in outflanking the Democrats. Given the political impact of these moves, he will doubtless be tempted by further moves of the same sort. If the Democrats choose a cautious nominee, reluctant to expose himself, to express commitments or to go out on limbs, this will make it easy for the President to move out in front. Here again the argument points to McGovern. More than the others, he has addressed himself lucidly and courageously to the large issues; he would be the hardest man for Nixon to outflank.

I suppose that many readers will not disagree too strongly with these remarks. People readily concede that McGovern might be the best man. But they feel that he can't get anywhere; so why, they ask, expend time and money supporting him? The short answer to this (beyond the observation that it is hardly a sin for liberals to support the best man) is that, the more impact a McGovern candidacy has, the greater the likelihood is that the Democratic party will end up at Miami

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Beach with a platform and nominee pointed in the right direction. Therefore time and money can hardly be wasted in supporting McGovern.

But I would argue in addition that McGovern's is not only the right candidacy; it is also a realistic candidacy. On this question public opinion polls are hardly conclusive. If they were, we would not need elections. The primaries are the test. One should not forget that McGovern has proven himself an astute and effective politician. South Dakota has not been, at least since the days of the Nonpartisan League, one of the more radical states in the union. Yet McGovern personally revived the Democratic party in that state, has been twice elected (and by increasing margins) to the Senate and saw in 1970 a Democratic sweep of the top statewide offices. He has the best grass-roots organization in the current campaign.

He is probably the strongest Democratic candidate in the farm belt – and farm support has been essential for every victorious Democratic presidential candidate this century. He seems to be the strongest among the young. Conventions in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and elsewhere show him by far the strongest among liberal activists; these endorsements confirm him as the heir of the Kennedy and McCarthy efforts, the New Politics of 1968. He is the one candidate whose nomination would make it hard for even Eugene McCarthy to start a fourth party; indeed, McCarthy has said he might support McGovern. He is a first-rate face-to-face campaigner. He may not be a dazzler on television, but which candidate is? And there is nothing like a measure of electoral success to confer charisma.

I don't agree with McGovern on everything; I would question, for example, his advocacy of a professional army as against a citizen army. But he is a man of honesty, intellect and strength. His much-vaunted decency should not be permitted to obscure his toughness of fiber. No softie could have flown 35 combat missions as a bomber pilot and received the Distinguished Flying Cross. While it is not true that I am for him just because he is the only Ph.D. in American history in the contest, still one can hardly feel that knowledge of the American past is a necessary disqualification for dealing with the American future. I know the esteem and affection in which both John and Robert Kennedy – Adlai Stevenson as well – held him. He deserves liberal support in the preconvention campaign. He would make a good nominee and a good President.

Who Should Get All That New Money?

The Cancer Conquerors

by J. D. Watson

The distinction between pure and applied science is more often made by politicians than by practicing scientists. We seize upon a phenomenon because some aspect of it intrigues us, not the least being the possibility that it is not as messy as most people in the past have thought, and that some insight on our part will make it readily explainable in terms of laws of nature that already have wide acceptance. We, of course, worry whether an explanation has wide generality or whether its consequences are so specific as to interest only its discoverer. And we do not relish the thought that we may have tackled a problem so easy that many others will jump in, and credit for the discovery will be synonymous with victory at bingo.

Outsiders now witnessing the current dash to enshrine work in cancer research with the fearless computers and chrome-plated environment that marked our past devotion to the moon's surface must wonder what motivates this new breed of public figure. Are they the same people who a few years ago flourished in immaculate Houston suburbs, but now know that our nation is fed up with the military and space and that Congress is more than uneasy for being a willing partner in the Vietnam that we masked with the platitudes of national esteem and parochial self-righteousness? We must wonder to what extent the current American hysteria to conquer cancer within the next

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decade arises from the feeling that an infirmity which strikes without respect for social, racial, or economic class must be an easier objective than a moral cancer which grows out of a nation's incapacity to acknowledge the conveniently remote victims of its surgical bombing strikes.

For now, our people are fed up with the catastrophic misuse of their resources by a succession of Presidents that their congressional representatives have been unable to control. They would like to strike back and actually see some public good. The question thus becomes, have they seized upon a suitable goal or have they again been sold a bill of unattainable goods, this time by a brand new set of lobbyists who, despite their noble outpourings, are all too easily matched up with a constituency afraid of their future and worrying whether Congress' support of health research will last until their kids are out of college?

For an honest answer, we must examine the current state of cancer research and, in particular, look at the origins of the various scientists who have settled for this career. Are they in cancer institutes primarily because of humanitarian feelings, working tirelessly to bring a halt to this most vicious form of human suffering? Or were their career choices the result of the widespread knowledge that cancer money is both the easiest to obtain and the most difficult to choke off and that it is better to do dull science than no science at all? Or are they motivated primarily because cancer is a phenomenon filled with countless intellectual puzzles that must inevitably attract some of the best of our scientific minds?

Without difficulty we can pinpoint individuals who fit each of these pigeonholes, as well as others whose motivations are more complex. The vast majority, however, are in cancer research from a personal desire to alleviate suffering, being supported by various personal and governmental monetary funds specifically created to provide the wherewithal to somehow check cancer. Today most cancer research is carried out by medically trained people who, after becoming frustrated by their inability to alter the course of most cancer cases, have decided that a career in clinical research would be much more satisfying than a lifetime of effectively impotent ward rounds. To be sure, there also exist many individuals who have chosen cancer research because they smell easy money, and no doubt there will be even more if cancer money explodes in the fashion now predicted. But up until now, this latter group has not been a significant factor in the organization of cancer research, and to a very large degree the people who direct the course of cancer research laboratories are also deeply involved in the life and death aspects of the clinical wards associated with their research institutes.

They are more than aware of their dual constituency composed of the wretchedly sick and their anxious relatives, and so, at times, quietly despair for the emergence of even minor clues that will allow them occasionally to seem optimistic and expectant of real progress. Hampering any rationalization of their effort, however, has been the fact that there has existed no solid intellectual framework around which they could organize any rational attacks on the disease. No possibility existed of a meaningful interaction between the worlds of contemporary biology and clinical cancer research as long as there existed no comprehensive understanding of the fundamental principles that govern the existence of living cells. That is, as long as biology remained a disconnected set of unorganized observations, its knowledge could not be brought to bear on the cancer problem.

This was the dominant fact that led, early in the 1950s, to the creation of the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Largely on the advice of perceptive cancer clinicians like Sidney Farber of the Children's Hospital of Harvard Medical School and C. P. Rhoads of Memorial Hospital, New York, Congress was convinced that the rational way to ensure the emergence of new medical advances was a broad expansion of federal support for all aspects of biology. The stage would then be set for a spectacular growth in the basic biological principles, similar to that which occurred in physics and chemistry in the interval between the two world wars. Within a short time after the founding of NIH, increasingly large sums of money began to pour out in support of biology, not only from NIH itself but, also, from the National Science Foundation and the Atomic Energy Commission. Most pleasingly, this new infusion of cash was followed soon after by a series of signal advances in the understanding of how cells operate that greatly exceeded the prognostications of even the most rabid promoters of the new biology.

Given the 1953 elucidation of the double helical structure of DNA, the way had become open to work out how DNA functioned as the genetic material and by 1965 the genetic code was completely solved. Equally striking was the way we learned how viruses were constructed as well as the precise biochemical mechanisms which underlie their ability to multiply within cells to form thousands of exact copies. And the biochemists, who in the 1930s first began to learn how cells generate energy, went on to show how this energy was used in the synthesis of the cellular macromolecules, the carbohydrates, the proteins, and the nucleic acids.

Most of these new insights by themselves, however, have had little direct application to the problem of the clinicians in cancer hospitals. During the past two decades the vast majority of our biochemically inclined biologists focused their efforts on the bacterial cell. They did not want to risk almost certain failure by attacking the much more complicated cells of human beings before they thoroughly understood the fundamental chemical rules that make possible

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the existence of the bacterial cell.

This was most certainly the right decision. A massive movement of the biological community into the cancer research of the 1950s and early 1960s would have led to almost no clinical consequences nor have produced much, if any, worthwhile science. By concentrating instead on problems that they could solve, not only hav biologists elucidated how heredity operates at the molecular level, but they also have acquired, for the first time, a solid professional status long the trademark of the chemist and physicist. No longer is a biologist arbitrarily thought to be an intellectually inferior breed of scientist. And because of the innumerable remaining major intellectual challenges still facing biology, it attracts, for the first time, many of the best students who wish to do science. On the whole, most opt for work with the higher cells of vertebrates, not because they know this is where the money lies, but because animal cells now seem intriguingly tractable, in much the same way that bacteria looked to me twenty-five years ago when I first began to work in a university laboratory.

For fields of science have their own momentum or nonmomentum, depending on whether the current experimental techniques are capable of moving them forward. Often it is all too obvious that a given key question cannot be answered with the current instrumentation and that, barring some unexpected insight, it is best left for another generation of scientists to take up. This may very well be the case today in the fields of human perception and memory where the frightful anatomical complexity of the vertebrate brain poses a virtually impenetrable jungle for even the most talented experimentalists.

In contrast, there exists a firm basis for the belief that the essential biochemistry of human cells can be worked out within the next decade or two. Even though today we still are completely in the dark about how vertebrate chromosomes function and have no good ideas about the detailed architecture of the outside surfaces of normal cells, much less those of cancer cells, there already exist the experimental techniques and machines which, when correctly applied, should quickly lead to important new concepts. This is not to say that further advances will be straightforward. Future progress with mammalian cells will be strongly influenced by the organizational setup within which the individual scientist works.

The most effective labs are likely to be those in which large numbers of people with closely related interests work simultaneously. While no doubt many key findings will come from solitary individuals working with total indifference to their neighbors down the hall, in general I do not believe this approach will be productive. This is because the inherent complexity of the mammalian cell may be several orders of magnitude greater than that of the now familiar bacterial cell. A given experiment with a mammalian cell usually takes some ten times longer and requires a correspondingly greater sum of financial support. Conceivably, someone will come up with a really cheap way to experiment on human cells, but the odds now are much against it. Common sense argues that many more people must be involved in establishing a given point than when bacteria are the object of investigation.

We thus must create the organizational framework which not only makes possible, but strongly encourages, the development of research groups of some 10-50 scientists, all of whose research focuses on the fundamental molecular biology of higher cells. Numbers this size will allow each lab to possess the variety of complex instrumentation often necessary to carry out key experiments. Today it no longer makes sense to regard experimental biology as a cheap science, with high-energy nuclear physics the only big consumer of scientific money. Setting up a minimal lab for higher cell work can easily take more than $150,000, an amount of money far greater than that now usually given to single investigators. But sums this great are likely to be allocated only when the granting agency knows that the equipment it provides is to be used by a number of different people, not when its use is solely the privilege of one person.

I am not, however, advocating the creation of huge establishments with all the power closely controlled by superstars who daily direct their Ph.D. minions to do this or that particular experiment. Such enterprises, which still characterize much of European and Russian science, occasionally are sensationally effective, but on the whole, they are dull factories with the only inspiration coming from the quality of the furniture and rugs in the director's office. Instead, I am thinking of institutes like the McArdle Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin. There within one bright new building are some ten totally independent investigators, each a professor in the university and free to choose his own research objectives. All have research which focuses on a problem in cell or molecular biology that relates to some important aspect of cancer research. They received most of their research support from a large block grant ($1 million a year) from the National Cancer Institute. Unfortunately, this lab is still an exception on the American scene – and the average scientist who might possibly do something very relevant to the cancer question works by himself, helped by a few students in an atmosphere too often characterized by grossly inadequate instrumentation.

Hopefully, those institutions which will be the recipients of much of the largesse coming from the newly voted cancer research funds will be those which make staff and space commitments that will quickly permit the creation of large labs with a critical personnel mass. Such decisions, however, will not be taken lightly by intelligent university presidents or medical school deans. Already most schools have staffs larger

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than their real financial resources warrant, and another round of expansion of research facilities should necessarily unsettle the equilibrium of any sensible administrator. For he knows that not only is money from a federal pipeline subject to highly unpredictable fluctuations, but even in the best years, the way federal money is given almost always ensures the need to raise additional funds to cover the true overhead.

Our nation's medical schools and universities thus cannot afford to increase their commitments to fundamental cancer research unless they receive assurance that Congress appreciates the difficulties that may lie ahead. Serious doubts whether Congress will continue to hold interest in cancer research unless solid new clinical successes are soon forthcoming will certainly scare off the sensible and leave the field to a combination of charlatans and fools. Even if the coming decade is marked by virtually unlimited money, observations with real therapeutic consequences may not occur and might only appear after still another decade or two of massive federal aid.

Knowledge of these harsh facts was certainly a key component in the creation two years ago of Senator Yarborough's Citizens Committee to assess the current status of cancer research and treatment within the United States. When it came into existence, the aura of financial stagnation that prevailed throughout the scientific community, together with the attendant corollary that we have more scientists than we can feed, argued strongly against further expansion of cancer research. Had the Yarborough Committee not materialized, the pace of fundamental cancer research within the United States would soon be far less than our national capability.

Instead our country took most seriously the message that the time had now arrived to make use of the "new biology" and directly apply it to cure (prevent) most cancers. Backed by the testimony of some one hundred expert witnesses, the Yarborough report urged expanded programs of pure cancer research as well as the politically more palatable goal of increasing the number of medical centers that can provide modern cancer therapy. Though many of us take issue with one or more of its arguments that we feel are overly optimistic, it is difficult to quarrel with the general conclusion that more good cancer research is needed. Its congressional proponents knew they were backing a sure thing and that to oppose it was equivalent to voting for another Vietnam. Passage of some legislative program to provide more money for cancer research was thus in the cards the moment the Yarborough report came out. It was to no one's surprise that strong executive as well as congressional support immediately coalesced around the program and the "Conquest of Cancer" legislation quickly became law.

We must not assume, however, that the battle is over. Unless the money is well spent, vast sums will be passed out without visible long-term influence on the treatment of most cancers. This disquieting thought was behind most of the controversy in Congress as to whether a brand new cancer agency, under some superczar, should be set up independent of the National Institutes of Health, the federal body now responsible for most health-oriented research. Proponents of this scheme argued that the current bureaucratic setup within NIH was ossified, and that much forward momentum could be generated by giving more real power to the true cancer researcher, whose freedom for action was often unnecessarily restricted by administrative hurdles.

Against this, opponents of the superagency argued strongly for keeping cancer research within the domain of NIH. Behind this seemingly conservative approach was the argument that most fundamental cancer research is so interconnected with other forms of medical research that to separate it might so confuse the purpose of NIH as to lead to its essential dismemberment. Also making many scientists and clinicians leery of abandoning the NIH framework was the fear that the creation of a powerful czar would lead toward a monolithic research effort disproportionately influenced by the prejudices of a small number of opinionated operators. One of the greatest virtues of the NIH has been its capacity to give support to all sorts of different ideas. Given the unpredictable nature of research, this approach maximizes the probability that something really new and pertinent will pop up. Putting all our eggs into only a few baskets would make sense only if the cancer problem were much more highly defined than is now possible. Conceivably there exists some individual whose ideas about the cancer cell are worth five million or so dollars to test, but I have yet to meet him.

Moreover, the National Cancer Institute (NCI), the component within NIH primarily responsible for cancer research, now utilizes either as direct employees or as active consultants virtually all of the frighteningly small number of Americans capable of giving intelligent direction to the cancer area. There is no group of unused talents today that could be brought into the government to supplement the preexisting advisors. A super cancer agency, if it were voted into being, would in essence be the National Cancer Institute renamed, not a brand new entity with its own new ideas.

Cancer research already is, and will become even more, a highly trained discipline requiring many years of professional training in biochemistry, cell biology, immunology, and molecular biology. Thus, newly created cancer programs cannot use the highly trained professional now underemployed because of cutbacks in the aerospace industry. Such people could be utilized only if they were to begin their education anew and acquire new professional degrees. Recruitment of the many new professionals who will be needed for the cancer research of the next decade most likely will

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occur from students already, or soon to be, enrolled in conventional M.D. and Ph.D. programs that are now supported by one or more of the various branches of NIH. At least for some years we must substantially enlarge these NIH-backed training programs, so as to ensure that research on cancer uniformly acquires the high professional standards long associated with the physical sciences.

The recent congressional verdict to keep cancer research decentralized within the NIH framework strikes me as a wise decision. The administrative ball game thus is back where it started, with the National Cancer Institute still the dominant agency controlling how cancer money is dispensed. And as before, the existence of scores of different advisory bodies will ensure that many fingers are in the pie. The NCI administrators can opt primarily for long-term results by allocating a significant portion of the money to learning the precise chemical details of human cells. Or they can blanket much more cancer therapy under the umbrella of "clinical research" and use virtually all the new money to construct a series of brand new hospitals, with emphasis on regions now lacking the hospital resources of major medical centers like those existing in Boston, New York, and Houston.

Most likely the NCI (as would have the superagency if it had been created) will put its money largely on the short-term option. In doing so, they will optimistically argue that preexisting methods of therapy might have to be only slightly modified to produce real dividends, and that the best way to ensure that the right new protocols for treatment are devised is to create new hospital centers specifically designed to decide between alternate methods of therapy. But from cruel experience, the leaders of NCI must inwardly fear that, barring the emergence of radically new ways to cure the major cancers, the chief effect of a massive new round of hospital-building will be to provide more cheerful places to die. The main dilemma the clinician lives with is not his failure to keep abreast of new discoveries which could cure his patients but the essential absence, in even the newest cancer hospitals, of effective ways to check virulent cancers like those of the breast and the lung. Setting up speedy all-inclusive information exchanges to reshuffle current knowledge is likely to enrich only the stockholders of computer companies. But the average citizen, as well as his congressmen, will badly want some short-term result to show for his money and so will be reassured by the sight of a fine new edifice, equating glitter with more effective therapy. We must expect that much, if not most, of the new cancer money will buy patient care, not true research.

Fortunately, however, the massive funds just voted by Congress mean that even a small share of the pie is a lot of money and most likely sufficient to create a large number of first-rate new research groups whose existence would be impossible without the new money. *The real question thus becomes will this happen or will the NCI leadership just pour out the money without any real plan of action?*

My suspicion is that the answer will largely depend upon the action of the younger scientists just entering cancer research. Even if the NCI bureaucracy upon the advice of its advisory committees decides to back the formation of exciting new labs for fundamental animal cell biology, they are unlikely to know how to move. We must remember that until very recently most creative scientists avoided "cancer research" as if it were the plague. They smelled an impossible task and did not want to enter an intellectual graveyard. Now there does not exist a confident body of senior cancer workers who armed by past success have much feeling for what the future may bring. The scientists who probably have the best ideas as to which experiments make sense and how they should be accomplished are individuals in their late twenties or early thirties. But on the whole, they have been brought up to face a world not only where the real power is held by their elders, but where common sense says to stick closely to the lab bench and grind out enough real science so that tenure will come; then they can stop worrying whether they can do science. At their age it is all too easy to equate committee membership with premature stuffiness and a secret desire to let one's students and postdocs do all the night work.

They must realize, however, that at this critical moment, there is no organized or even disorganized group of wise decisionmakers who will map out their science. The only predictable object above them is the bag of free money that our nation's people want well spent. It is much too big to sit unused for any period and very likely will fall upon those who ask for it first. So if our better younger biologists get together and quickly ask to set up flexible and nonauthoritarian new departments (institutes) the financial wherewithal can be found within the NCI and eventually the universities to let such bodies come into existence. But if they timorously sit back, the current superstars on the cancer scene will get even more money to bolster their egos. Then we will have to wait until still another Yarborough type lobby materializes before cancer research can be established in the United States as a serious academic discipline.

Some may argue that this decision is far too important to be left in the hands of the young. But we have no other choice. No other group can do the job, and it is they or nothing. We will be remiss, however, not to warn them that if they act individually, leaving the important administrative if not scientific decisions to good intentions in Washington, they may very well have lost their only opportunity to face a wide open frontier.

And the American Public will once again wonder where their money has gone.

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Ned Rorem on music

Elliott Carter

The art of Elliott Carter understandably provokes contrasting attitudes. Some who know and care contend wistfully that he is the last great master; others, mostly from among the young, feel that if the species is dying it's no loss to them. Harold Schonberg, usually outspokenly contemptuous of all categories of new music, remains deferential in his dislike of Carter, while Virgil Thomson says "Carter's chamber music is the most interesting being composed today by anyone anywhere," and John Simon bizarrely suggests that Carter (whose experience with and interest in the sung word is avowedly edgy) could be the savior of American musical comedy. Meanwhile his detractors find in this composer a subtle parvenu.

If a master is one who writes masterpieces, who aims high and hits the mark using as weapon the Big Statement (a piece inherently long and with profound intent, like the post-Beethoven sonata forms, as opposed to inherently short pieces like Webern's), then Elliott Carter fills the bill. But it is true that the Big Statement, descending as it does from 19th-century preoccupations, has indeed grown extinct from gigantism, at least in purely instrumental repertories. (Most of the important gestures of the so-called serious music world, and all of them from the pop world, have, since *Le Sacre du Printemps* in 1912, involved the human voice.) Carter is the only composer after Bartók who can make a convincing Big Statement in nonvocal mediums, particularly in the otherwise atrophied string-quartet. He stands isolated in his mastery, as much through uniqueness of viewpoint as through genius.

This singular position was gained neither easily nor early. Born in 1908, Carter did not settle into himself until his mid-forties. Before that his music sounded rather commonplace – not in the sense of vulgar, which can be thrilling (like Gershwin as contrasted to Cole Porter, or Weill as contrasted to Reynaldo Hahn), but in the sense of second rate, which can be dull (like all those neoclassical composers as contrasted to Stravinsky). Carter's composition of the 1930s and early 1940s was of the "accessible" Coplandesque brand; he felt "a social responsibility to write interesting, direct, easily understood music." Had this music in fact been "interesting" or, more important, successful in its day, one wonders where Carter might be now. Around 1950 he made the intellectual decision to focus, as he puts it, "on 'advanced' music, and to follow out with a minimal concern for their reception, (his) own musical thoughts along these lines. . . . If a composer has been well taught and has had experience," Carter adds about himself, "then his private judgement of comprehensibility and quality is what he must rely on if he is to communicate importantly."

He was communicating importantly enough by 1955 to have replaced Aaron Copland as national father figure, and to be the only American taken seriously on their own terms by the elite of European composers. And though he jumps through no hoops, his position remains secure in 1972 when half of being an artist lies in self-promotion. Like Roger Sessions, he has never pushed his persona along with his product, a stance nearly as anachronistic as his choice of musical terrain. If for no other virtue than integrity, Elliott Carter at sixty-three finally deserves a book-length study. *Flawed Words and Stubborn Sounds* ("A Conversation With Elliott Carter" by Allen Edwards, Norton, $6.00) is not, however, it.

Although more than three fourths of the volume consists of an edited transcript of Carter's replies to questions posed by one Allen Edwards, the result seems somehow unauthentic. Edwards has chosen not only the format but (pathetically) the tone of the famous Stravinsky-Craft *Conversations*. He has proceeded on the assumption that his subject is "a composer I know I am not alone in regarding as the most important to have appeared in America," and then exempts himself from literary responsibility ("The defects that remain in the final text are ones for which I am motivated to ask the reader's indulgence because of my conviction of the overriding value of the perspective here gained, . . ."). From the painful ejection of the very first question the book sags, for the protagonists lack the marvelous Craft-Stravinsky gift of gab; their scholarly exchange does not of itself result in the literature that should be the one excuse for this kind of publication. Mr. Edwards depicts the two of them in an ivory tower of Babel satirizing a situation which Carter in reality deplores.

Not even by comparison can Elliott Carter come to life, except in a few instances of anecdotage (for example, a description marked by admiring tenderness for Nadia Boulanger), or of working method. This is to be pitied, because Carter's answers often contain ideas, explanations and recollections which in their present raw form could be transformed into an excellent *written* (not transcribed) book. His comments on US education provide a most attractive indictment of a system which at every turn stifles the imagination, preaches a materialistic concept of success, and advocates allegiance to an often narrow vision of The American Way. But his youthful friendships with Ives, Whitehead, Ralph Kirkpatrick and other fabulous greats are alluded to only teasingly, as though "personal" discussion would soil the higher purposes in question. His pessimistic appraisal of what a composer can expect by way of public acclaim and respect might make some impress on the public conscience were it tightened into a formal essay. And surely he has more to say about the problems of vocal composition than the meager half-page allotted to it.

Elliott Carter's ideas about his own music, reduced to lowest terms, are neither complicated nor especially original (his notions about orchestration, for instance, or his famous "invention" called metric modulation), but they are necessarily valuable as statements by a vital artist "in process." Perhaps one day he'll authorize a less pompous biography, or, better still, collect his own thoughts in essay form. Despite what Edwards declares in his foreword, Elliott Carter surely has time for this; any artist does.

The title from Wallace Stevens seems

(continued on page 32)

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

GERRIT HENRY *is the NY correspondent for* Art International, *and an editorial associate with* Art News. JOSEPH RHODES, JR. *is a Junior Fellow at Harvard in Victorian History, and is running for the 24th district of Pennsylvania's general assembly from Pittsburgh.* NED ROREM, *composer and author, resides in New York.* DAVID F. ROSS *teaches at the University of Kentucky and is executive editor of* Growth and Change: A Journal of Regional Development. ANNE SEXTON's *latest book is* Transformations *(Houghton Mifflin).*

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Gerrit Henry on art

"de Chirico by de Chirico"

Eighty-two-year-old Italian painter Giorgio de Chirico's reputation has never been secure. Considering the disfavor in which all of de Chirico's post-World War I painting is held, one would expect any self-respecting museum retrospective to focus (as did the 1941 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art) on early, undeniably great pictures like *The Double Dream of Spring, The Mystery and Melancholy of a Street* and *The Disquieting Muses*. Instead the New York Cultural Center (nee the Huntington Hartford Gallery of Modern Art) has come up with a de Chirico show, which is on until April 2, composed almost entirely of works executed after the painter's widely agreed-upon decline, most of them on loan from his personal collection in Rome.

The top floor of the museum is devoted to the painter's latest excursions in the realm of metaphysics, the descending floors to other, even more strained modes (mythologies, history paintings, horses). None do much to please. The Cubist-Surrealist elements familar to the viewer from the artist's major work (faceless dress dummies, bits and pieces of Graeco-Roman sculpture eerily receding, piazza-like perspectives, rubber gloves, smoke stacks and the like) are all there, but the poetry is gone; it's as if de Chirico had handed the component parts of his painting over to some IBM computer, sat back, and watched the endlessly various, endlessly stale combinations and cross-cuttings slide out of the metal slit into the little wire basket.

Even in his greatest canvases the artist wasn't a particularly careful or sensitive handler of paint-as-paint; the later de Chirico leaves his pictures looking as if they had been whipped up by cartoonists of the early Disney Studios, or perhaps by students in a progressive kindergarten. Obviously he has in mind some concern other than technique; one's passage through the four floors of de Chiricoiana ends with the display on the second floor, where the painter's ideas about his art are given their fullest plastic (if not necessarily aesthetic) expression. The side galleries are filled with self-portraits, strange, rather creepy representations of de Chirico in various historical costumes (faint echoes of Rembrandt, but only echoes); then a large front room full of decidedly unpainterly evocations of past art (Boucher, Watteau, Rubens and Raphael, among others) to show us what this prolific post-great is up to. Each is painted in a kind of *trompe l'oeil* Old Masters style, which disappears as one approaches it, only to soon reassemble into the over-familiar, gossamer Italianate brushstroke of the man behind it. "If I can't be a great modern," de Chirico seems to be saying, "then I'll be a great modern traditionalist, able to summon up a style, a subject matter, with the flick of a brush. . . ."

But de Chirico is as much a flop as art history's magician-in-residence as he is at being a great contemporary painter. So what is the philosophy behind the show? A glance at the catalogue would seem to explain: "During (the last) 52 years, de Chirico has not only been continually productive but has changed his style and content to the extent that this prolific body of work can be comprehended in distinct periods. . . . At long last this significant corpus of work can be studied and evaluated in the presence of the actual art and in sufficient number to trace unities and metamorphoses. . . ." Although no critic has been professionally suicidal enough to attempt to trace the "unities and metamorphoses" of de Chirico's later work, curator Donald Kirshan has a point: the artist deserves a public hearing. In other words this is an extensive exhibition in which a once-great, still-legendary art world figure is acting as his own defense, even down to the self-written catalogue notes.

Yet the retrospective, for all its enormous faults, emerges, though perversely at first, as something more. The artist and his curator must have known from the outset that their project was anything but a critical shoo-in; the magnificent failure of their willful risk-taking is discomfiting, baffling and annoying, but finally preferable to those bland triumphs of art-think or style-mongering New York art viewers are accustomed to seeing. In this light, "de Chirico by de Chirico" stands as an illumination of Blake's "If the fool persists in his folly, he will be wise." If an extra-artistic appreciation of a major museum show seems a bit soft-hearted, on second thought it seems only practical in the face of the soft-headedness so many contemporary artists are asking us to value.

The Hoarder

"An idler is like a lump of dung; whoever picks it up shakes it off his hand."
Ecclesiasticus

There is something there
I've got to get and I dig
down and people pop off and
muskrats float up backwards
and open at my touch like
cereal flakes and still I've
got to dig because there is
something down there is my
Nana's clock I broke it I was
wrong I was digging even then
I had to find out and snap
and crack the hand broke like
a toothpick and I didn't learn
I keep digging for something
down there is my sister's five
dollar bill that I tore because
it wasn't mine was stage money
wasn't mine something down there
I am digging I am digging I will
win something like my first bike
teetering my first balancing act
a grasshopper who can fly she
of the damp smelling passageway
it was earlier much earlier it
was my first doll that water went
into and water came out of much
earlier it was the diaper I wore
and the dirt thereof and my
mother hating me for it and me
loving me for it but the hate
won didn't it yes the distaste
won the digust won and because
of this I am a hoarder of words
I hold them in though they are
dung oh god I am a digger
I am not an idler
am I?

ANNE SEXTON

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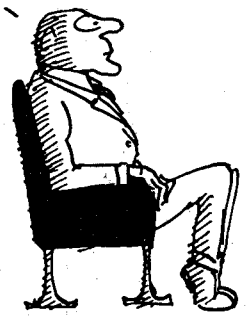
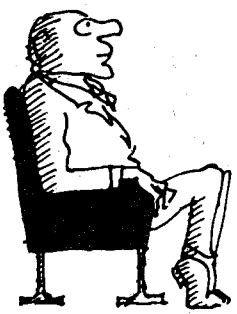
JULES FEIFFER

IN THE OLD DAYS YOU WENT TO THE MOVIES TO SEE THE BAD GUYS BRUTALIZE, TERRORIZE AND MURDER.



AND THE GOOD GUYS CATCH THEM AND KILL THEM.

THAT WAS ENTERTAINMENT.



TODAY YOU GO TO THE MOVIES TO SEE THE GOOD GUYS BRUTALIZE, TERRORIZE, AND MURDER.

AND THE BAD POWER STRUCTURE BRUTALIZE, TERRORIZE AND MURDER THE GOOD GUYS.

THAT'S ART.

SO THE CHOICE IS NO LONGER BETWEEN GOOD GUYS AND BAD GUYS.

IT'S BETWEEN BRUTALIZING ENTERTAINMENT AND BRUTALIZING ART.

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2-20

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A Rage to Write

The Ewings by John O'Hara

(Random House; $6.95)

I came to bury Caesar, not to praise him, and was wrong on both counts. This is John O'Hara's last finished novel but not the last of the finished work that he left; and there's no point in pretending that he didn't know his job. That job is of some interest in American literary history.

Through most of his career, even those who disliked O'Hara's work conceded that he was a sharp social historian, a ruthless investigator of sexual mores and a connoisseur of cultural data. Many, including myself, then went on to say that he was in effect merely an aggrandized stenographer with narrative skills, an enervated tag-end of naturalism being maintained for its own exploitative sake. There is no grand revision in order for O'Hara, no great quarrel to be picked with the serious consensus about him, but this last novel is at least an occasion to mark his merits, along with the rest of him, and to note that a certain kind of writing energy is now absent from the literary scene.

In his first two pages O'Hara displays his technique, his perception, his cheapness, his power to keep you reading. First page:

> It was a four o'clock wedding, which gave the bride plenty of time to change her clothes and make the eight-fifteen to Detroit, which made connection with the nine-fifty to New York. But instead of taking the nine-fifty to New York, the couple took the train for Chicago, which left fifteen minutes later, and meant that they did not have to spend their wedding night on a train.

I'd stake my life, without looking up the details, that O'Hara was accurate about this 1913 train schedule. In a long line of lesser novelists following Balzac, he showers facts on us to fix era and custom and also to show his *bona fides*, to persuade us that a writer who takes such trouble with details must be reliable in all matters and must have a story to tell. Then, on the second page, comes the other half of the O'Hara one-two punch. He says of the bridal couple:

> There was something in the atmosphere of New York, the foreignness of it, that brought them together and relaxed them, and Edna even had her first bowel movement in four days.

I laughed when I read it, both because of the intended anti-romantic jolt and because it showed that O'Hara was still in good form. One of his basic techniques is to weave a web of social convention, then lift it to reveal sex or scatology. In old-time burlesque there was a standard gag in which a girl walked out sedately in a hoopskirt, then strong lights came on behind her to outline her legs and bottom. That's a not oversimple analogy with O'Hara.

This time the main setting is Cleveland and the main characters are lawyers and their wives. The period is the First World War. Bill Ewing gets married, turns down a law job in New York on his honeymoon and comes home just in time to see his lawyer-father die. Page seven! O'Hara uses death better than Nero. We feel that, with the successful father dead and the young pair stepping into prospects, the word Beginning is writ large. Another writer might have felt he had to cook up some trouble for the Ewings: not O'Hara. The couple lose one child in the diphtheria epidemic, otherwise everything is clear sailing. O'Hara holds our interest with the very clearness of the sailing, feeding our vicarious ambitions with Bill's professional cleverness, his happy marriage, his steady progress. The variations – not exactly drama – come from their friends and from Bill's mother. There's a wicked German scientist, there's a suicide and a murder, and there's homosexuality, both latent and blatant. Bill's mother, widowed in her early fifties, rich and handsome and lonely, virtually kills an old friend with heart trouble by performing fellatio on him, then discovers the discretions of lesbianism and goes off to live in California with another rich widow.

The sex details raise matters of veracity quite different from railroad timetables or the long parade of vintage automobiles. How does O'Hara know that Bill Ewing, in 1915 or so, would have reacted so calmly to the news of his mother's homosexuality? Or that the mother herself would have reacted so calmly to frank language used by a seducer? O'Hara doesn't know, of course; he imagines it because he enjoys imagining it and because he knows, quite well, that his readers want him to imagine it. It's one of the increments of a long author-reader relation. His readers have learned, through personal observation and experience, that much of his contemporary sexual detail is accurate, so they take O'Hara's historical sex on trust, even though very few people now alive know how a middle-aged Mrs. Ewing of that day would have reacted to four-letter words in a sexual moment. There's no history of such matters to be checked, and O'Hara himself was born in 1905. (However, novelists of the future may check O'Hara, among others, for such details about the present!)

And what does it all come to? Count all the merits: the skillful selection of scene and focus, the paring-off of fat, the deftness of transition, the skill in making us accept innumerable viewpoints, the character-sketching (with the Ewings themselves the least vivid, incidentally), the rhythmic recurrence of narrative pulses to keep the story moving, the close-fitting jersey pullover of minutiae that clings to the body of the book – and then what? At first there's an impulse to put *The Ewings* in the class of American exposé, the line of Hawthorne and O'Neill and Grace Metalious that discloses the truth behind respectable facades. Then it's clear that exposé, disturbance, alteration are not remotely what O'Hara is after; that essentially he's telling us all's right with the world, that Pippa may screw a little as she passes but she's still caroling that God's in his heaven, and that the Protestant ethic, battered but dependable, will bless us as we go.

There is a line of American novelists, realistic in tenor but sentimental in gist, of whom O'Hara is the descendant. William Dean Howells may be best of breed, but O'Hara is closer to Booth Tarkington. From *The Magnificent*

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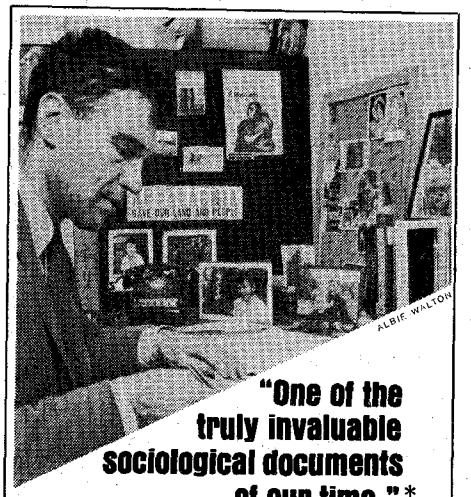

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*Publishers Weekly

Ambersons:

> In that town, in those days, all the women who wore silk or velvet knew all the other women who wore silk or velvet, and when there was a new purchase of sealskin, sick people were got to windows to see it go by.

It's the O'Hara tone. The obvious difference between the two authors is that Tarkington was socially and sexually sentimental, while O'Hara goes through Cleveland yanking down bloomers and ripping open flies. But many elements in the two men are similar – family ties that bind and loose, youthful romances traced to unromantic conclusions – and the principal theme is the same: money as progress, money as the mainstream by which, perhaps with a coyly helpless shrug, one is carried along. Vernon Parrington described Tarkington's general thesis: "Life is an agreeable experience – to the successful, hence it is well to rise." It seems equally true of O'Hara.

The most interesting question raised by O'Hara's death (in 1970) is whether he will be replaced, whether we will get another high-grade popular naturalist pouring out one heavily detailed novel after another, ostensibly giving us the low-down on American society, making his ruthlessness plausible by his commanding technique, his frightening eye and ear, his pleasantly insulting insistence on the dirtiness of sex; and yet for all his Diogenes air, a celebrant of the status quo.

Seventeen novels and eleven volumes of short stories. (Among the latter are some of the best stories ever written about Hollywood, not just a writer's revenge on the studios.) When a man has written that much as well as O'Hara and has been as widely read, his disappearance leaves a gap. My chief curiosity about that gap is to see whether any new author has the energy to fill it – not to mention the professionalism – to patrol that area of the print spectrum; because the popularity of an adroit, nasty, industrious, superficial but intelligent writer like O'Hara was a tribute, in its way, to the very idea of the novel.

Stanley Kauffmann

dissent

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Foreign Devil Needed?

The Chilean Revolution: Conversations with Allende by Regis Debray, with a postscript by Salvador Allende

(Pantheon, $6.95; Random House paperback, $1.95)

Chile today, after fifteen months under the administration of Marxist President Salvador Allende, is in flux and turmoil. Its relations with the United States have been severely strained by the recent decision to make no compensation to the major US mining companies whose property there has been nationalized. It is attempting to renegotiate a $3 billion foreign debt under crisis conditions in its foreign exchange reserve. The Chilean Congress, dominated by the opposition parties, is moving toward a legislative curb on the presidential program of nationalization. The President is conducting an agonizing reappraisal of his political position in the wake of two decisive defeats in significant by-elections. A recent state visit by Fidel Castro was marred by rioting in Santiago, and closed on a note of mild rebuke from the Cuban leader concerning the ability of Chilean Socialists to mobilize mass support. The university is in a state of armed truce; freedom of the press is undergoing a serious test; and a cabinet minister is being impeached. In short, these are interesting times in Latin America's most mature democracy. The appearance of a new book, with the promise of an inside report on this unique attempt to achieve Marxian socialism through the constitutional machinery of

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a bourgeois state, seems certain to attract widespread interest.

Unfortunately, this is not that book. The "conversations with Allende," which actually take up only 68 pages, occurred early in January, 1971, when Allende had been in power only two months. These are padded out to book length by a long introduction by Debray, also written in January, 1971; 29 pages of footnotes; and Allende's "postscript," which turns out to be a translation of his first official message to Congress, delivered in May, 1971. Throughout this time, the Christian Democrats were cooperating with Allende's Popular Unity coalition, giving him a working majority in the legislature.

Of course Chile's problems, and Allende's problems, all have deep roots in the past, and some historical light is cast upon them by this book. But it is also fair to say that the particular crisis now confronting the Popular Unity government is made up of several elements, every one of which has surfaced since any part of the book was written. The crisis is a serious one. Allende may very possibly have to choose between departing from the path of constitutionality to which he has so scrupulously adhered (and apart from which he could lose the support of the armed forces), and permitting his delicately balanced coalition to splinter apart. No hint of this is to be found in *The Chilean Revolution.*

At the time of the interview, Regis Debray had just been released from the Bolivian prison where he was held in the aftermath of Che Guevara's abortive attempt to germinate a revolutionary *foco* in that tragic land. It was Che's conviction, shared by Debray, that the revolutionary process was important not so much as a means of seizing the machinery of government as for its role in forming the revolutionary "new man." In classical Marxism, proletarian social consciousness is the product of the factory and the tenement – an environment in which the individual learns that he can achieve nothing *qua* individual, but that his class, acting collectively, possesses all power. The fact that communism has come, with few exceptions, in countries still primarily agricultural in their stage of development, means that practicing Marxists must either make do with populations consisting of old-fashioned selfish individualists or find another way to convert them. The policy that has evolved in the Soviet Union is to make do, and the resulting system of market dominance and incentive income payments is the principal basis for the "convergence thesis" of such observers as Walt Whitman Rostow – that as economies mature, whether capitalist or communist, they become more alike. In Cuba and in China, on the other hand, where the revolution came about only after long years of struggle and sacrifice by closely knit bands of dedicated men and women, conversion has been the major emphasis of public policy, rather than convergence.

The position of Allende in this controversy is anomalous and precarious. No revolutionary struggle in Chile forged a new personality perceiving individual welfare exclusively as a part of the common welfare. Chileans whose votes put Allende in office presumably hoped to gain by his administration, and presumably would vote him out again if their expectations were disappointed. Nevertheless, he has achieved the support of the Castroite *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (Move-

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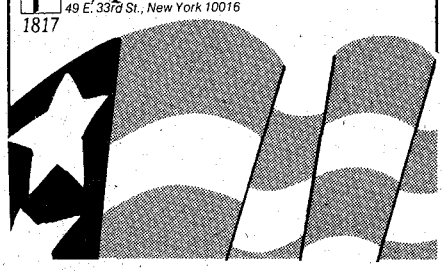

ment of the Revolutionary Left).

During the first months after he took office (the period reflected in Debray's book) there were available policies that would satisfy both the converted and the heathen among his supporters. Unemployment was about 8 percent of the labor force: he could bring it down by the simple expedient of putting people to work. Free milk rations for children, accelerated land reform and public housing programs, and a firmer policy against price increases, all helped to fill bellies and pocketbooks in a way that was both socially advantageous and politically expedient. Once the slack was squeezed out of the economy, however, it became impossible to make further progress toward socialism and economic development without calling for sacrifice. Socialist accumulation just as much as capitalist investment requires abstention from present consumption. How this can be achieved under a democratic government without the incentive of private gain is the truly profound question posed by the Chilean experiment. A conversation on this subject between the revolutionary theoretician Debray and the political pragmatist Allende might have been of considerable interest.

Only one thing now appears capable of preserving both Allende's program and his popular support. A sufficiently formidable threat from an appropriate foreign devil, suitably met, could mobilize the people and the factions around him in a mood for patriotic sacrifice. At present, the Nixon administration appears to be torn between a State Department group that favors a conciliatory posture and a treasury secretary, acting as spokesman for US capital, who would have us provide the needed devil. The recent White House pronouncement on expropriation, although characterized as a "get tough" policy statement, is actually a compromise that leaves the issue unresolved. If its threat is actually implemented, to use the decisive voting position of the US on the governing boards of such multilateral lending agencies as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to freeze off credit to Chile will signal that Connally has won. It will also signal Allende that the time is opportune to renounce the foreign debt his government inherited and embark upon a new career as leader of the continental struggle against the *yanqui* imperialist. Given his past performance, he might just make a success of it.

David F. Ross

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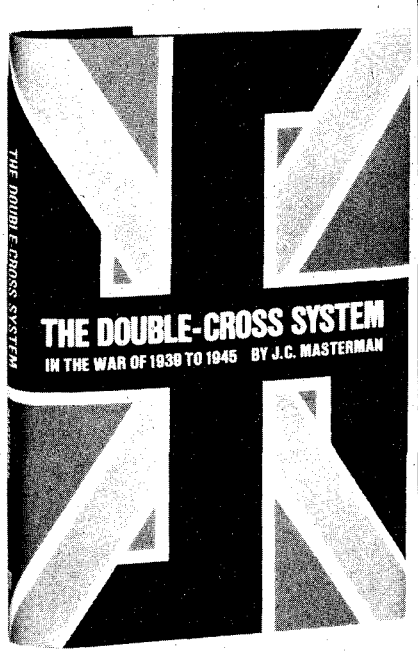
"It **reads better than any spy novel**—not merely because fact is stranger than fiction but because what was British fiction became German fact."—*The Washington Post*

". . . a memorable chapter in the long history of espionage."—Gilbert Highet, *Book-of-the-Month-Club News*



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In Brief

The Family: The Story of Charles Manson's Dune Buggy Attack Battalion by Ed Sanders

(Dutton; $6.95)

Charles Manson has been sentenced to die in a California gas chamber for the infamous Tate-LaBianca murders. Ed Sanders disapproves of murder and considers the Manson Family fiends but gives Manson celebrity treatment in the style of the old *National Enquirer*.

What does Charles Manson have in common with Malcolm X, besides the admiration of Bernadine Dohrn? What imported beer was murder victim Jay Sebring's favorite drink? How did Sebring choose his name? Where did Manson attend a party with the parents of two of his victims? Where did Manson use subliminal suggestion to win a talent contest? The 12- or 13-year-old daughter of what famous actress had her mother's permission to "associate"

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with Manson? What member of the "evil Ma Barker gang" who was a mentor of Manson said he'd have thought Manson the last man on earth "to go into the mass murder business"? Walt Disney once owned which murder house? Which Family member was a movie star? What song recorded by the Beach Boys was written by Manson? And who stole Doris Day's telescope?

If you care, Ed Sanders' answers to these and other important questions can be found in his new book, where you will also learn new words like zombi-spore, sado-sodo and commune-ism. With Ed Sanders even geography can startle and amaze. Some of the action is set in the desert "near the Colorado border in Riverside County, California."

Poor Russell's Almanac
by Russell Baker
(Doubleday; $6.95)

There's not much difference between Baker in newsprint and Baker bound between hard covers, except that with editing he's more consistently funny and his essays are ordered by month to follow a seasonal pattern (though there's usually nothing seasonal in them). Under each month there appear four or five Baker pieces, interspersed with short quips and irrelevancies intended to give the book an almanacky tone. This chaff often seems pointless, but Baker remains, in any format, clever.

One daren't add that he is "wise and witty," "sensitive and perceptive" or "brilliantly funny"; doing so might send his almanac to the flames. Under April, Poor Russell advises that he'd like to see the sanitation departments across the nation develop a new service like one he's seen in the science fiction movie, *Fahrenheit 451*: book burners. These public servants would go around town collecting and destroying books that nobody loves, ones whose dust jackets claim they are "wise and witty," "searing," "bold, brilliant and revealingly candid." Baker says, "if publishers conceive their function to be the reduction of literature to hamburger, we should feel no guilt about barbecuing it." Poor Russell shouldn't be cast aside with the hamburger.

Reconsideration
W.E.B. DuBois

Reading W.E.B. DuBois' *The Souls of Black Folk* was much like the experience I had when I read Thomas Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question." I had been reluctant to read both pieces. In Carlyle's case I was afraid that this essay on the "Nigger" question, which he published in 1849, might hopelessly embitter me toward

The Souls of Black Folk
by W.E.B. DuBois
Originally published in 1903 by A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago. Now available from the Johnson Reprint Corp., $7.50; Dodd, Mead, $4.50; NAL, $.95; Fawcett Premier, $.75; and Washington Square Press, $.95.

him and thereby dangerously bias my reaction to his major works. I had put off reading *The Souls of Black Folk* for a different reason. The woman I have loved since high school recommended that I read it; and since she has made a virtue out of telling me that she does not love me, I have seldom followed her advice as to reading material. Also she made the suggestion in a tone which implied that this book would be "good" for me, which naturally set me against it. As with many things, she was right. I should have read this remarkable collection of essays sooner, just as I should have read Carlyle.

When I told her that *The New Republic* had asked me to write this reassessment, she responded by noting that of all the people in the United States I was the person least likely for such a project. As usual, there was some truth in that. My credentials as historian or literary man are minimal, and though I am regarded as a black man, I have never in all honesty felt "black." My mother is Chinese and while I was growing up few of the black people in our community accepted me as one of them; schoolmates would call me a "chink" and refer to my mother as that "yellow slant eyed gook." Whites didn't accept me either; with them in the old days I was too much a nigger and now I'm not nigger enough. My mother taught me the ways of the Chinese family and the importance of reverence. My father taught me to enjoy the simple things, how to laugh or the pure pleasure of mathematics. She came from a family of merchants and he has worked hard all his life with his hands. Both their heritages stir around inside me and to say that I *am* one or the other would be only a rude denial of half of myself. Stories about South Carolina plantation life told to me by my father's father have imbedded in my heart those generations of suffering and hope. Yet I grew up despising the Japanese for what they did to my mother's homeland, and Mao has always been a hero in my house. A dualistic racial identity is a kind of contradiction. You can imagine my surprise when I discovered that the major theme DuBois developed in *The Souls of Black Folk* was precisely the dualistic nature of being an American Negro.

He begins with, "Herein lies buried many things which if read with patience show the *strange* meaning of being black here at the dawning of the Twentieth Century." And the strangeness he refers to is the tension between being an American and being black. He uses the metaphor of the veil to describe the separation between the worlds; but we can see through a veil and it can be raised.

America buries her first and great sons in strange ways and in faraway places. It astounds me that thinking back on my high-school American history courses I cannot recall the name W.E.B. DuBois. My first encounter with the name was in the context of the DuBois clubs, which (to demonstrate my ignorance of our history) I originally thought were religious organizations, like the Newman clubs. People always mentioned DuBois' name in a kind of hushed sinister voice, much like the way parents in Edinburgh frighten their children with tales of Burke and Hare, the famous graverobbers of the early 19th century. In the great fight between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, there is little question that Washington won the first round though DuBois won the second:

> Your recent statements on domestic issues and especially on South Africa indicated to me that you are being groomed to become one of the most intelligent and eloquent reactionary Uncle Toms since Booker T. Washington.
>
> *from a letter I received*

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The list of DuBois' accomplishments and contributions reads like a litany of the strivings of black America over the last half-century. He helped to found the NAACP and edited its official organ, *Crisis*, for decades. The Niagara Movement which DuBois initiated provided the backbone for the black response to the rising anti-Negro sentiments which swept the country during the first quarter of this century. More than a propagandist, he made major contributions to the social sciences and raised sociology to the level of a science with his study of the Philadelphia Negro. Always aware of the importance of the African homeland, he participated in the evolution of the Pan-African movement. DuBois life work reminds one of the prodigious efforts of a Mill or Ruskin; his "partial" bibliography in Julius Lester's collection of his works covers 27 pages of print! Something enormously powerful motivated this man. And while the historical significance of *The Souls of Black Folk* is undeniable – after all DuBois announced his departure from the leadership of Booker T. Washington with its publication – the continuing popular interest in this work reflects its autobiographical quality. *The Souls of Black Folk* is about DuBois' soul. The central question he attempts to answer over and over again is: are the souls of black folk his soul? The title of this book is more a question than a statement.

I have just figured out why for the last hour I have sat here looking at the last sentences of the above paragraph. I am caught in a dilemma. My previous intention had been to point out at this point that the tremendous literary significance of *The Souls of Black Folk* stems from DuBois' sensitive treatment of a crucial problem of modern existence: the ambiguity of self. But the first paragraph of the editor's introduction to this book kept running through my mind:

> *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. Burghardt DuBois has long been recognized as a great literary classic. This category has worked against it, separating it from its real meaning and purpose and making it one of those books that will always be around – so that we hardly ever get around to it, an assignment that students read hastily the night before an examination.

and later, the editor adds:

But the continuing power and thrust of this book does not come from its prophecy or its poetry, but from the still reverberating collision of DuBois' revolutionary trajectory with the fixed position of the first black leader to command the nearly total support of his people.

The question becomes whether we emphasize the immediate political significance of this work or its place among the great works of English literature. Someday this world will be free of oppression and brutal disregard for our common humanity. When that day comes we will have the pleasure of true contemplation, enjoyed as we leisurely sit with our families bathed by the fleeting hues of a setting sun. We are caught in this dilemma of emphasis because the period of systematic oppression of black Americans has not become history. If it were, the immediate political significance of *The Souls of Black Folk* would be nil, and we could discuss its broader implications without reservation. The depressing fact about this book is that after almost 70 years it has immediate and direct significance in terms of the physical existences of millions of people of colour around the world. Not long ago on TV Dan Rather interviewed President Nixon and asked him what he had meant by previously stating that black Americans were different from white Americans. No, Mr. President, the difference between the races is not that black people remember slavery and segregation or even that they occasionally experience discrimination. The difference is that the Mississippi Highway Patrolman who lead the murderous assault on the girls' dormitory at Jackson State couldn't explain to the Scranton Commission why he always referred to Negroes as niggers and why he would have fired his shotgun, loaded with double-o buckshot, into a window filled with black girls. The difference is why there is such a high percentage of black people in prison.

> The high proportion of negroes in American prisons mirrors the conditions in our society, namely that negroes commit a disproportionate share of violent crimes.
>
> *from a letter I received*

No sir! The conditions in our society are not that Negroes commit a disproportionate share of violent crimes; these are results of the conditions of our society but are not the conditions themselves. The conditions of our society are the prison cells of stunted growth and crushed possibilities that the vast majority of the black population of America endure at this very moment. In 1903 DuBois wrote: "Thus Negroes came to look upon courts as instruments of injustice and oppression, and upon those convicted in them as martyrs and victim." That these words have the ring of immediate truth says a great deal about – but very little for – our society.

To return to literary matters, sometimes I get the impression that when people draw a line dividing the literary classics from the other classics they mean that the literary ones are the ones that have no real significances beyond their value as entertainment. But this line of thinking goes to the heart of the dispute DuBois had with Washington over "the training of black men." If literature is simply entertainment then Washington was right and perhaps black people should only receive practical training which prepares them for a vocation. DuBois did not agree with this view. To him education had a higher purpose:

> It must develop men. Above our modern socialism, and out of the worship of the mass, must persist and evolve that higher individualism which the centres of culture project; there must come a loftier respect for the sovereign *human soul that seeks to know itself and the world around it.*

If DuBois saw this education to include a consideration of the lasting works of literary art, then surely a consideration of his own work in those terms must fit within his own admonitions. And so we move on.

The title of this book is one of its most curious features. DuBois did not entitle it, "The *Soul* of Black Folk." To him black folk have more than one soul; that is the theme of his essays:

> One ever feels his twoness – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The Negro lives a life of perpetual contradiction. His two souls war with each other for possession of his spirit but at the very point one of them wins, the definition of its contours becomes the absence of the other. So the black man goes back and forth, alternately feeling

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his blackness and his national identity. But deeply imbedded within the American consciousness is the conception of black men as inhuman, so the American soul of the black man brings on self-hatred:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.

No wonder the seventh son can only cry out: "Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?" Trapped between two opposing worlds, he is forced to live in a nether world, "a world which yields him no true self-consciousness."

What is true for the average black man is only a small part of the torment that the black artists live. If art has something to do with the expression of truth, then the black artist faces the awesome reality that his heart and spirit contain opposed and mutually destructive truths. Speaking as much for himself as for fellow black artists, DuBois observes:

> The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black artist; for the beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people.

This dual consciousness had brought devastation to the spirits of many of the most sensitive of the black race:

> This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people – has sent them often wooing false gods and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.

But is there no escape from this dilemma? Apparently not. DuBois notes that black people have always tried to satisfy these unreconciled ideals:

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife – this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better

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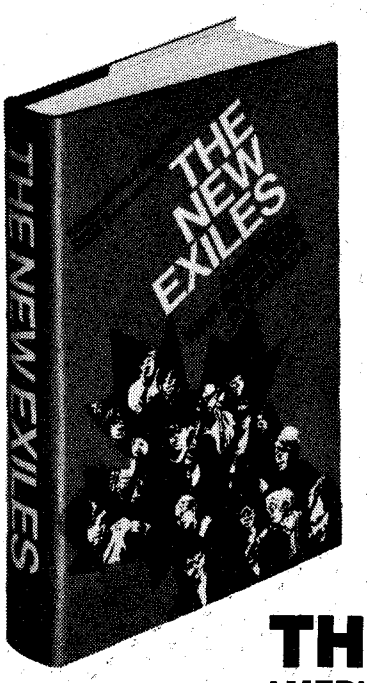

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and truer self.

But what is his solution? He proposes that black Americans strive toward one pole of their dilemma and adopt:

> . . . that vaster ideal that swims before the Negro people, the ideal of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of Race; the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and talents of the Negro, not in opposition to or contempt for other races, but rather in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic.

Yet this very passage includes a severe contradiction. The American soul within the black man is not all racial hatred of himself; it includes these higher ideals of the Republic. And so on it goes. One aspect of DuBois' definition of the ideal of the Negro race is the necessity of higher education. Then later in the book he includes a beautiful narration about a man named John who goes away to college, discovers himself through "book-learning" and comes home to discover that the South has no place for a nigger "full of northern notions." The true self John discovered learned to love beauty, but he asserts himself most when he strikes down a white man who attempts to claim from a black woman what his have always considered their natural due.

I suppose some might relate this insight DuBois had into the tormented nature of black consciousness to the writings of modern revolutionaries like Fanon *(Black Skin, White Masks)* or Freire *(Pedagogy of the Oppressed)*. These writers and others have pointed out the tendency of the oppressed to mimic their oppressors, adopting a double identity which results in their self-oppression. DuBois would certainly provide a historical reference for such concepts. But in terms of the general importance of *The Souls of Black Folk*, I feel its power and significance reflects DuBois' sensitive, though particularized, treatment of the modern dilemma of the self as a whole, rather than just a black dilemma. Contradiction is the dynamic nature of the self; the self, per se, is a dialectical notion containing the nonself.

DuBois knew this about the self. He understood it as a recent development in Western culture:

> The nineteenth was the first century of human sympathy – the age when half wonderingly we began to descry in others that transfigured spark of divinity which we call Myself.

And this is where Carlyle comes in. While likening the rural postwar South with England at the beginning of the 19th century, DuBois describes that England as: "The England that wrung pity from thinkers and fired the wrath of Carlyle." DuBois mentions Thomas Carlyle in a favorable tone! This was the Carlyle who wrote the "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question," who supported the South during the Civil War and who defended the notorious Governor Eyre. Carlyle, however, was the spiritual head of English Letters for almost half of the 19th century. One of the issues of life that greatly concerned him was the question of self-consciousness. He regarded self-consciousness as a manifestation of a disease within society. In his essay "Characteristics," he argues: "Do we not see, in the common understanding of mankind, a certain distrust, a certain contempt of what is altogether self-conscious and mechanical?" To him, "Unconsciousness belongs to pure unmixed life; Consciousness to a diseased mixture and conflict of life and death: Unconsciousness is the sign of creation; Consciousness, at best, that of manufacture." Until no man alive suffers injustice because of his race, until no black man drains his life onto the floor of Attica Prison, we shall remain conscious of our race. Someday the "Sorrow Songs" will have no meaning and "America shall rend the Veil and the prisoned shall go free." But until that day we must live the cultured lie, lifting our divided spirits as one voice.

Joseph Rhodes, Jr.

"THE BRITISH *have the peerage/ For duffers on the wane; / In France, to be 'immortal' / Helps mitigate the pain. / A widow in the Punjab / Leaps on her hubby's pyre; / In major corporations / The fuddy-duds retire. / An Eskimo who's had it / Is simply set adrift. / But who when offered Humphrey / Would take him as a gift?"*

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Rorem, *from page 22*

inappropriate. Despite Carter's modesty (in one footnote he refers to this complex theoretical exchange as "bits of useful information [which] may help a few readers to understand something about what it is for one person, at least, to write music in the United States") his own words are not really flawed, except inasmuch as any discussion of art, however complete and learned, becomes *de trop* before the fact. Nor are his musical sounds at all stubborn, although his endless compositional patience might be so termed. But even the best books on music can only demonstrate points, while music itself proves points. On closing this book we ache from structure-talk and long for living notes – for what the same Wallace Stevens called *not ideas about the thing but the thing itself.*

Correspondence

Snow Job

Sirs:

May I belatedly acknowledge that parts of my article, "Snow Job in Colorado" (January 29, 1972), came from a series written by reporter Richard O'Reilly for the *Rocky Mountain News*. I regret that permission from the *News* was not obtained and that proper attribution was not made.

Sam Brown Jr.
Denver, Colorado

Nixonomics

Sirs:

I was pleased to note that Melville Ulmer ("The Non-Answer to Nixonomics," December 11, 1971) stated his position in unequivocal terms: "*Each time* the economy is pumped up with tax reductions or additional government spending, unemployment recedes but inflation accelerates. *Each time*, then, that government 'corrects' inflation with higher taxes and/or reduced public spending, it succeeds in slowing prices but produces unemployment [italics not in the original].

Because Mr. Ulmer stated his position unequivocally – "each time" – only one case to the contrary is needed to disprove it. Such a case is provided by

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the battle of the Nixon administration against inflation. This battle began immediately after Mr. Nixon took office and has not ceased. The results? The unemployment rate has *increased* from 3.6 percent during 1968 and 3.5 percent during 1969 to 6.0 percent during 1970. The rate of price increase has also *increased* from 4.2 percent during 1968 to 5.4 percent during 1969 to 5.9 percent during 1970. Mr. Ulmer states that "*each time* government 'corrects' inflation. . .it succeeds in slowing prices but produces unemployment." However, Mr. Nixon has sought to "correct" inflation by the means spoken of by Mr. Ulmer and has succeeded in increasing *both* unemployment *and* the rate of inflation. Other examples can be given, but, as stated before, only one exception is needed to disprove Mr. Ulmer's "each time."

W. D. Williams
Denver, Colorado

In Reply:

Ineffective as President Nixon's economic policies have been, their results were not as out of line with historical patterns as Mr. Williams' statistics imply, and I'm afraid that I must insist that my "each time" includes this most recent experience too. Mr. Nixon's restrictive policies designed to fight inflation did not come into play until 1970. Following one of the most prolonged and unrestrained business expansions on record, it is no mystrery why inflation proved to be extraordinarily stubborn. Even so, when one looks at more detailed data than the annual figures of Mr. Williams, it is apparent that the administration had some limited success in slowing the price rise, which fell steadily from annual rates of 5.8 percent in the second half of 1969 to 4.8 precent in the second half of 1970, and to 4.0 percent in the first half of 1971. Of course, accompanying this relatively modest reduction there was a near doubling in the rate of unemployment, in accord with the general rule I described in the article.

Melville J. Ulmer

My Uncle Dudley

Sirs:

In my review of Wright Morris's *Fire Sermon* (Oct. 30), I stated that his first novel, *My Uncle Dudley*, is "long out of print" and "virtually unobtainable today at any price." I have subsequently learned that *My Uncle Dudley* may be bought from the Greenwood Press for $9.50. Since a copy of the first edition was recently offered by Milton Hammer of Santa Barbara for $100.00, this seems to be a fair price.

John Seelye
University of Connecticut

Att: Coin Collectors

Sirs:

I read in the January 29 edition of *The New Republic* Aaron Marcus' article on the Eisenhower silver dollar. I enjoyed it very much but would like to point out a mistake in referring to sides of the coin. Coin collectors refer to sides of the coin as obverse and reverse but Mr. Marcus has confused these terms. In discussing the reverse side he refers to it as the obverse side. I am 9 years old and coin collecting is one of my hobbies.

Harry Crockett III
Lincoln, Nebraska

Oil Industry

Sirs:

Let me compliment you on your excellent editorial "Embroiled in Oil" in your January 29 issue. The benevolent policy the administration now pursues toward the oil industry not only costs the American public billions of dollars, but also totally fails to meet its stated objectives.

There are several bills before Congress which would abolish the oil import quota system, reform the tax structure of the industry, and meet the conservation and national security objectives in a more effective and efficient manner. I have sponsored many of these bills, but the debate should not be confined to the halls of Congress. The oil lobby, as your article points out, is one of the strongest and wealthiest in Washington. Only a strong demand on behalf of the American consumer can counter this lobby. Only the American consumer can force the Congress to create an equitable tax structure for the oil industry, lower fuel costs, and meet the pressing concerns of our environment.

Michael J. Harrington
Congressman, Massachusetts

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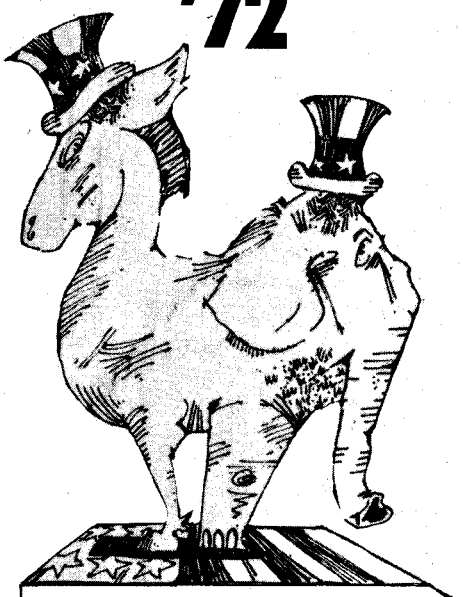

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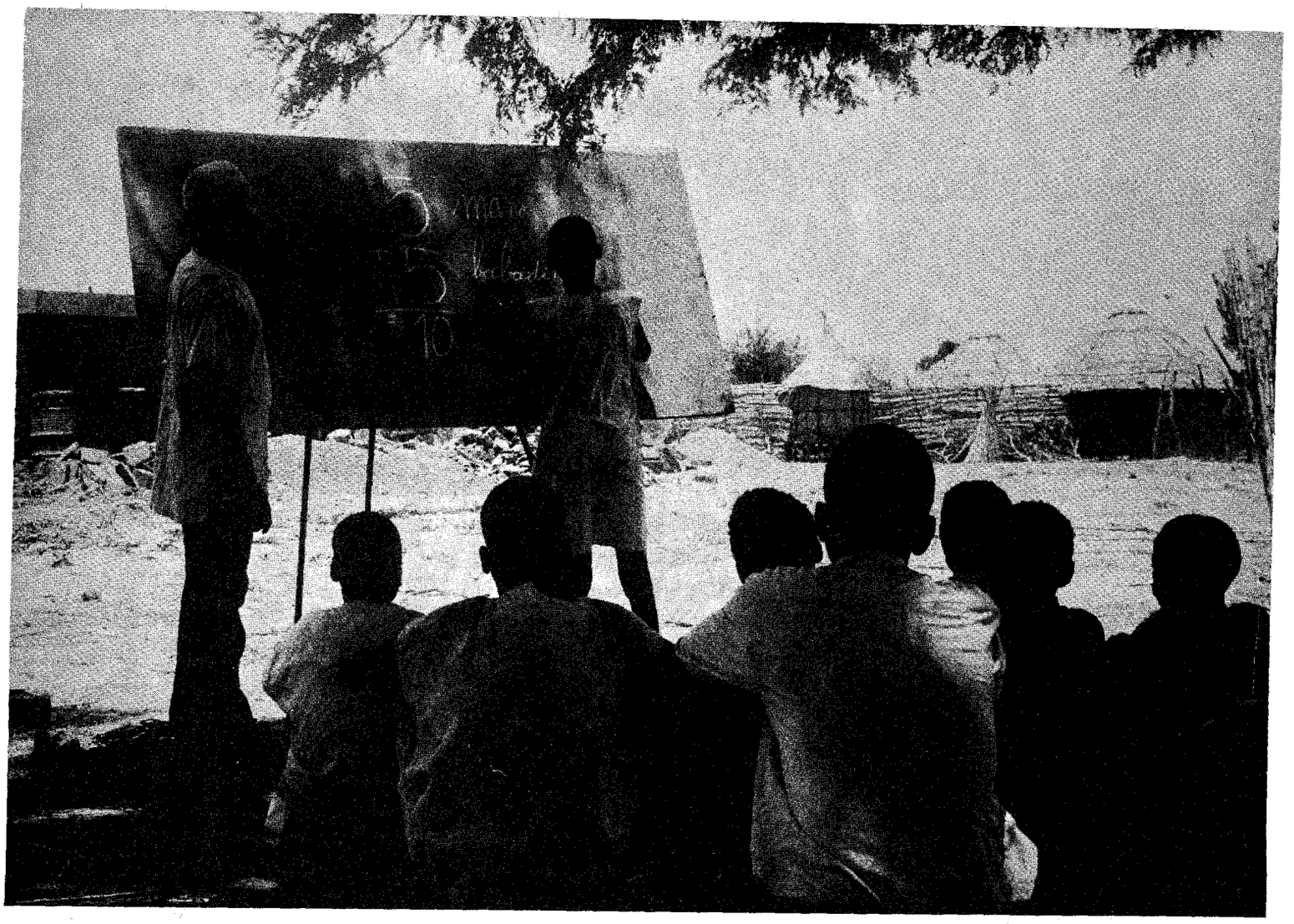

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